GROVER CLEVELAND

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LIFE OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE—LAWYER—SHERIFF.

THE Clevelands are descended from an English family, and have been for more than two centuries in America. They seem to have first settled in Connecticut, and have been hitherto best known by their zeal and activity in religious matters. Dr. Aaron Cleveland, the grandfather of Grover Cleveland's grandfather, was an Episcopal minister in Philadelphia and a friend of Benjamin Franklin, at whose house he died in 1757.

Franklin was at that time editor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and noticed the death of his friend in the following words:

"On Thursday last, after a lingering illness, died here the Rev. Mr. Cleveland, lately appointed to the mission at Newcastle by the Society for Propagating the Gospel. As he was a gentleman of a humane and pious disposition, indefatigable in his ministry,

easy and affable in his conversation, open and sincere in his friendship, and above every species of meanness and dissimulation, his death is greatly lamented by all who knew him as a loss to the public, a loss to the Church of Christ in general, and in particular to that congregation who had proposed to themselves so much satisfaction from his late appointment among them, agreeable to their own request."

He left a little son, who was born in East Haddam, Connecticut, in 1744, and who shortly after the death of his father returned to Connecticut, and lived the greater part of his life at Norwich. He led an active life, and somewhat distinguished himself by his opposition to slavery. He was a member of the Connecticut Legislature for Norwich, and introduced a bill for the abolition of slavery in his State.

He was also a minister, but a Congregationalist, instead of Episcopal; as such he lived for a time in Vermont, but finally returned to Connecticut, and died in New Haven in 1815. This was Grover Cleveland's great-grandfather. His first son, Charles, was born in 1772, in Norwich, and became a city missionary in Boston, where he lived to be nearly one hundred years old, and was widely known as "Father Cleveland." His youngest child, a daughter, married Dr. Samuel H. Coxe, a distinguished clergyman, of New York city, whose son, Arthur Cleveland Coxe,

is Episcopal Bishop of Western New York. He had eleven other children, of whom we are most concerned with the second son, William Cleveland, who was Grover Cleveland's grandfather. He was a silversmith, and lived the greater part of his life at Beacon Hill, on the outskirts of Norwich. He was a deacon of the Congregational Church for twenty-five years. He married Margaret Falley. He died at Black Rock, near Buffalo, New York, in 1837.

His second son was Richard Falley Cleveland, born at Norwich, 1804, who was the father of Grover Cleveland. In his younger days he was a factory boy together with his cousin William E. Dodge, who afterwards came to New York, and became the head of a great and wealthy business house, and was well and widely known as a philanthropist.

Richard Falley Cleveland managed to prepare himself for college, and entered Yale in 1820, and was graduated with honor in 1824, in a class of sixty-eight. From college he went to Baltimore and found employment as a tutor. Here he became acquainted with Miss Anne Neale, the daughter of a wealthy law-book publisher and merchant, of Irish birth. After a year in Baltimore he went to Princeton Theological Seminary, where he studied theology and became a Presbyterian clergyman.

In 1829 he returned to Baltimore to marry Anne Neale. I believe that a scientific investigation of the facts would show that marriages between per-

sons of different nationalities are productive of an unusual number of remarkable children. Without stopping to cite instances from history, I may say that I attribute in some degree to this marriage between a Connecticut clergyman and a Baltimore girl of Irish descent, that exceptional union of deliberation, self-possession, and firmness with the genial, sociable, tender and sympathetic nature that are characteristic of Grover Cleveland.

But to return to our young clergyman—his first charge was at Windham, Connecticut; the second at Portsmouth, Virginia; and the third at the little village of Caldwell, near Newark, New Jersey.

It was here, in the little Presbyterian parsonage, that Grover Cleveland was born, the 18th of March, 1837. He was the fifth of nine children:

Anna, now Mrs. Dr. Hastings, missionary to Ceylon; William N., born 1832, an alumnus of Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., and now a Presbyterian minister at Forestport, N. Y.; Mary, born 1833 (Mrs. W. E. Hoyt); Richard Cecil, born 1835; Stephen Grover, born 1837; Margaret, born 1838 (Mrs. N. B. Bacon); Lewis Frederick, born 1841; Susan, born 1843 (Mrs. Yeomans); Rose E., born 1846.

Stephen Grover was named in honor of the worthy pastor who had preceded his father in the church at Caldwell, N. J.; from childhood he has been called Grover, and has always written his name

simply Grover Cleveland. When he was about three years old his father received a call to the church at Fayetteville, a little village in Onondaga County, near Syracuse, New York, and near Pompey Hill, the birth-place of Horatio Seymour. The journey hither, in 1841, was a long and tedious one, by boat up the Hudson River, and thence by the canal packet to Fayetteville, which they reached one Saturday about midnight.

The Cleveland family spent about nine useful and happy years at Fayetteville; the father was a popular and successful preacher; the mother was busy with bringing up a large family on a small income; and the children made diligent use of the village school. During these years there were repeated indications of the failing health of Pastor Cleveland; he became unequal to the burdens of his position and gladly accepted the agency of the American Home Missionary Society, at a salary of $1,000 per year, a sum considerably larger than he had been receiving in Fayetteville. He now, in 1851, removed his family to Clinton, in Oneida County, which at that time—as it does yet—offered unusual educational advantages. Here the eldest son finished his college education at Hamilton College, while Grover and the other children availed themselves of the Clinton schools to make proper preparation for college. While they were living in Clinton, it was thought best for Grover to accept a position as clerk in the village store

in Fayetteville. By this means he would not only decrease the family expenses, but add something to their resources by his small salary of fifty dollars for the first year, and one hundred dollars for the second year. Persons are yet living who recollect the village clerk, and there is abundant testimony to his diligence, faithfulness, and honesty in his first position in the business world.

Mr. Wirt, the biographer of Patrick Henry, tells us that young Henry used his position as clerk in a country store in Virginia, to make a systematic study of human nature, and there he doubtless learned many of those subtle movements of the human mind which enabled him to have such influence over the people by his eloquence. It is no doubt equally true that young Grover Cleveland made many an observation on human nature while in this village store that have proved as valuable to him as the Latin and mathematics which he pursued in the Clinton Academy.

I believe it was Wendell Phillips who advised the Harvard students not to separate themselves from the people. I have often observed the great advantages in this respect that boys brought up in villages and country districts have over those brought up in cities. They thereby acquire an understanding of the people—the plain, uneducated people—that finally seems almost instinctive. And the best of this understanding is that it brings an appreciation

of their fine qualities, a sympathy and love for them, that even amid the glitter and bustle of our great cities never entirely passes away.

And many a time when I have turned with a sad heart from the misrepresentations of the South which I had read in the journals of the North, and from the bitter words of the Blaines and the Butlers, I have found consolation in thinking of the sterling qualities of the plain people whom I have had the good fortune of closely observing in almost every part of our extended country.

Here lie the real strength, the vigor, the simplicity, the unaffected manhood, the hope of our national greatness.

And as we see provincial France sending up to Paris a never-failing supply of such youths as Guizot and Thiers, Sainte-Beuve and Renan; so it is our country districts which, from Washington to Cleveland, have furnished the greater part of our able men, whether we consider politics or commerce.

Mingling with the people from early childhood, Grover Cleveland learned to know and to appreciate them. He learned that their rough exterior often conceals the finest qualities, both mental and moral, and that even in their manners the capable judge often finds a fine deportment, the absence of which is so frequently striking among the business part of our city population.

It is probably partly due to this mingling with

the people, that Grover Cleveland, as Governor of New York, sitting in a Capitol that has cost fifteen millions of dollars, has been from the first day easily accessible to every citizen who had real or imaginary business with him, without regard to race, color, or previous condition. And there is no doubt that in the White House he would set an example of dignified simplicity worthy of our best traditions.

There, too, in that village store began the first of the numerous occupations—clerk, teacher, lawyer's clerk, lawyer, district attorney, sheriff, mayor, governor—that have given him a fair share of that extraordinary versatility characteristic of the American people, which Pericles thought so admirable in the Athenians, and which, in his opinion, helped to render them superior to all other nations.

This apprenticeship doubtless contributed considerably to another quality characteristic of Mr. Cleveland, that of being practical. He goes directly to the gist of a subject, and, as the reader will see in the extracts from his vetoes and messages, expresses himself simply, directly, and forcibly.

The Rev. Mr. Cleveland did not derive from his new position much improvement of his health, and he was dissatisfied with the continual absence from his family which it required. He therefore accepted a call to the pastorate of the church at Holland Patent, another village in Oneida County, on Black River, about twelve miles from Utica. Hither he

removed with his family in 1853. But he had preached only three Sundays in his new home when death cut short his useful life. The loss of his father caused a great change in Grover's life-plans; he had to abandon, for a time at least, all hopes of going to college, and to help support the large family left by the poor clergyman. His brother William had recently obtained a position as instructor in the Institution for the Blind, in New York city. Here Grover likewise secured a situation as book-keeper and assistant teacher, though only sixteen years old. But he retained this position only one year and then concluded to set out for the Great West. He returned to his mother's, at Holland Patent, and borrowed twenty-five dollars from a neighboring farmer, who had been one of his father's friends.

He also found a young friend, who was likewise desirous of seeking his fortune in the West. They set out in the spring of 1855, with the intention of going to Cleveland, Ohio, then a rising little city, as far West as Illinois or Wisconsin would now be considered.

The State of New York contained at that time a population of 3,097,000, instead of 5,082,000 as now; Syracuse then had a population of 22,000, and now has 51,000; Rochester then had 36,000, and now has 89,000; Buffalo had a population of 42,000, instead of the present 155,000; Erie County, the future home of Grover Cleveland, had a popula-

tion of 100,000, but now has 220,000; and other cities have increased in a like proportion.

On their way these two lads stopped at Buffalo to allow Grover to visit an uncle, Mr. Lewis F. Allen, a well-known farmer and author of the "American Herd-Book," which he was then preparing. Mr. Allen questioned his young nephew as to his intentions, and found that he was on his way to the West, and was desirous of becoming a lawyer.

His uncle pointed out to him the difficulties of such an undertaking, the disadvantages he would labor under in a new country without even a letter of introduction, and made the proposition to him to remain in his house for a few months at least, and assist him in getting his book on short-horn cattle ready. In the meantime, perhaps he could find some opening in a law office in Buffalo. Young Cleveland took a favorable view of the offer, but said he could not accept it till he consulted the young friend who was traveling with him. But the next day he returned to Mr. Allen's, his young friend making no objection. There he found a pleasant home and a small remuneration sufficient for his necessary expenses. In a few months (August, 1855), through his uncle's influence, he entered, at the age of eighteen, the law office of Messrs. Rogers, Bowen & Rogers.

It should be remarked that this kind uncle is yet living and enjoying vigorous health, and retains his

memory and mental powers unimpaired. And though a founder of the Free Soil party in his vicinity and a stanch Republican, he hopes to live to assist, by his vote at the age of eighty-four, in making President of the United States the man who thirty years ago assisted him in completing his book on short-horn cattle.

Grover Cleveland began the study of law in the enjoyment of vigorous health, and soon showed himself to be a youth of intelligence and decision of character. He was admitted to the bar in 1859, but remained four more years with the above firm, thus securing eight years of legal training. As office boy he gradually became acquainted with many legal forms, and used his leisure in the study of his profession. He was just beginning to earn something by which he could assist his mother and sisters, when the war came on. It was a question in the family whether he should enter the army or not; but at a kind of family council it was decided that his two brothers, one a little older and one a little younger than Grover, should go to the army, and that he should remain in the practice of the law and assist the family.

Grover Cleveland was from the outset a War Democrat and has always, both in private and in public life, shown himself a friend of the soldiers.

As a young lawyer he became so favorably known that in the year 1863 he was appointed assistant dis-

trict attorney for the county of Erie. This position he filled in a manner so competent that in 1865 he received the nomination of the Democratic party for the position of district attorney for his county, but was defeated by the Republican candidate, Mr. Lyman K. Bass.

In 1866 he formed a legal co-partnership with the late I. K. Vanderpoel, and was afterwards associated with the late A. P. Lansing and the late Oscar Folsom. Through these years he was steadily rising in his profession.

In 1870, at the age of thirty-three, he was elected Sheriff of Erie County for three years. This office he likewise discharged with ability and satisfaction to the people.

At the close of this period (January 1, 1874) he resumed the practice of law and associated himself with his former antagonist, Mr. Bass, and Mr. W. S. Bissell.

Not long afterward Mr. Bass withdrew from the firm on account of failing health, and the firm became Cleveland & Bissell, and so remained till 1881, when Mr. George J. Sicard joined the partnership; and the firm remained Cleveland, Bissell & Sicard till Mr. Cleveland was elected Governor of New York in 1882.

He was a very successful lawyer and was for many years very busily employed. His office was in the Weed Block, at the corner of Main and Swan streets,

where the firm is yet carried on under the name of Bissell, Sicard & Goodyear.

As a lawyer he was a fluent, terse, forcible speaker; and alike successful before judges and juries. His clear apprehension of legal principles and his logical statement of them rendered him second to no lawyer in Western New York. While having a successful general practice, he was regarded as especially strong in equity cases.

Mr. Bissell, who has had a fine opportunity of observing men who use their minds a great deal, informed me that "he has never known a man, whether college professor or lawyer, that is capable of so many hours of strenuous mental labor as Mr. Cleveland; and that he has never known another man so industrious; and he is never so industrious as when laboring for the rights of some poor man: he has a kind and sympathetic nature."

Mr. Cleveland has never married, and has lived in great simplicity. His rooms were in the building near his law office, and his meals he took at the hotel or restaurant.

As a friend and companion he is genial, gentle and unassuming; frank, generous and open-hearted and liked by everybody. He has never gone much into general society, but is as self-possessed there as elsewhere. He never loses his head under excitement, but remains dignified and calm. When the dispatches were arriving the night of his election as

governor of New York, and it was seen that the majority was unprecedented and probably reached 150,000, a great many friends gathered around him at his office and were in a jubilant state; but Mr. Cleveland opened the dispatches and read them as they arrived as calmly as if they concerned some one else instead of himself.

Thrice he has received the great honor of nominations to high positions—those of Mayor, Governor and President—without seeking it. "The man does not live," said to me one of his most intimate friends, "who can say that Grover Cleveland asked him to work for his nomination; on the contrary, when I left for the Chicago Convention, among the last words he said to me were: 'May Heaven send the nomination to some other man,' so strongly did he feel the responsibility of the position. And when I heard in Chicago what falsehoods were in circulation about him, I became angry and began to work in earnest for him; I then sat down and wrote him and in a manner apologized for trying to secure his nomination to the highest office within the gift of the American people. He has many apprehensions and even dread of office, from a deep feeling of responsibility. The man has an instinct for pursuing what is right; I have observed it often in his practice of law, and the public has observed it in his acts as Mayor and Governor."

Another very intimate friend of Mr. Cleveland

says: "He is very deliberate, even somewhat slow, in forming decisions, but after he has settled a matter, nobody in the world can change him. So he was as a lawyer, so he was as Mayor, as well as Governor. He has taken many positions that his friends thought wrong and sometimes ruinous, but we were never able to change him, and it has often turned out that he was right. He is firm, straightforward and upright, and that is the kind of President he will make."

CHAPTER II.

VETO MAYOR.

THERE had grown up great dissatisfaction in Buffalo with the way the city was governed, and in 1881 there were many Republicans willing to unite with the Democrats in the election of Mayor, provided an able and upright man could be found to run as a candidate for that office. Mr. Cleveland was urged to accept the nomination, but he was very busily engaged in his profession and was unwilling to allow his name to be used; finally, after much urging, he accepted the nomination, and though the city is generally Republican, he was elected in November, 1881, by a majority of 3,500. After he had been in office nearly four months, *The Buffalo Sunday Morning Times*, a Republican journal, said:

"Mr. Cleveland's administration, thus far, has been such as to justify the expectations that were created, not only by the utterances of his message, but by his well-known character and previous public record as well; and the people feel, without distinction of party, that they have in Mayor Cleveland an able, fearless, upright chief magistrate, who will not abuse the trust reposed in him, but will use his best

CITY HALL AT BUFFALO, N. Y.

endeavors for their welfare and to promote the interests of the city.

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"Mr. Cleveland is not the kind of a Democrat that will offensively obtrude his politics into the administration of a public office. While he is strongly partisan, no man has a greater regard for the proprieties which require an abnegation of party and politics in public affairs than has Mayor Cleveland."

The problems connected with municipal government have become very important and very complicated in our country; and there is not a city in the land but may derive great profit from the study of the affairs of the government of Buffalo in the year 1882, when Mr. Cleveland was Mayor.

Every citizen, irrespective of party, and every official, municipal, county, State or United States, can learn many valuable things from Mayor Cleveland's veto messages. These were so numerous and became so famous that he was finally called the Veto Mayor.

I have sifted out from two thousand three hundred and seventy-four columns of fine print such as seemed to me of the greatest general interest and application. I have been so interested in them, so struck with their straightforward manner, their good sense, clearness of style, and close attention to details, that I regret the necessity of omitting several. These vetoes touch problems that are of daily occur-

rence in our city governments, and are therefore of such general application that I feel that it will be rendering good service to the cause of upright government to render them accessible to the public. The vetoes of Governor Cleveland have attracted very wide attention. Those of Mayor Cleveland deserve an equal reputation. His career as Mayor of Buffalo, during which he saved the city in eleven months about one million of dollars, clearly illustrates what too many people are apt to overlook or ignore—namely, the necessity and economy of having efficient and incorruptible men in public office, and of paying a sufficiently generous salary to command the services of such men. The importance of Mayor Cleveland's vetoes is by no means temporary or factitious; the advantage to be derived from reading them has nothing to do with party or the present contest for President. After all the noise and smoke of the campaign have passed away, irrespective of the result of the November election, it is to be hoped that all persons interested in municipal government will give careful attention to the vetoes and messages of Mayor Cleveland.

He was elected Mayor in 1881, and entered upon his official duties January 1, 1882. It should be borne constantly in mind that Mr. Cleveland was Mayor of a city generally Republican, and that there was in the Common Council a majority of members belonging to that party, who were always

ready to oppose him where their own interests or those of their party seemed to demand it. The following extracts from his first message need no comment:

MAYOR'S OFFICE,
BUFFALO, *January* 2, 1882.

To the Honorable the Common Council of the City of Buffalo:

"In presenting to you my first official communication, I am by no means unmindful of the fact that I address a body, many of the members of which have had quite large experience in municipal affairs; and which is directly charged, more than any other instrumentality, with the management of the government of the city and the protection of the interests of all the people within its limits. This condition of things creates grave responsibilities, which I have no doubt you fully appreciate. It may not be amiss, however, to remind you that our fellow-citizens, just at this time, are particularly watchful of those in whose hands they have placed the administration of the city government, and demand of them the most watchful care and conscientious economy.

"We hold the money of the people in our hands to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality; and it is quite apparent that, when any part of the funds

which the tax-payers have thus intrusted to us, are diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have, to that extent, violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations, whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or many. And yet it sometimes appears as though the office-holder assumes that a different rule of fidelity prevails between him and the tax-payers, from that which should regulate his conduct, when as an individual he holds the money of his neighbor.

"It seems to me, that a successful and faithful administration of the government of our city may be accomplished by constantly bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust, to be expended for their benefit: that we should, at all times, be prepared to render an honest account to them touching the manner of its expenditure: and that the affairs of the city should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns.

"I am fully persuaded that in the performance of your duties these rules will be observed. And I, perhaps, should not do less than to assure your honorable body, that so far as it is in my power, I shall be glad to co-operate with you, in securing the

faithful performance of official duty, in every department of the City Government.

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STREET DEPARTMENT.

"The recent investigation into the affairs of this department has developed the most shameful neglect of duty on the part of the persons in charge. The entire absence of any record of work done renders it impossible to give exact data.

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"The mismanagement of the affairs of this department has led directly to the wasting (to use no stronger term) of the people's money.

"The charter of the city provides, that 'the Street Commissioner shall *superintend* the construction and repairs of plank sidewalks and unpaved streets, the cleaning and watering of streets, and the abatement of nuisances.'

"This superintendence means something more than certifying accounts, when presented, without any examination. And it is perfectly clear that, before he certifies any bill for work, the Street Commissioner should inspect and measure the same. In no other way is his certificate any protection to the taxpayers.

"I am told that for a number of years the city has been charged twenty-six cents per foot for construct-

ing plank sidewalks; and for all that time bills have been presented, audited and paid at this rate. During the same period, private persons have had this work done for from fifteen to eighteen cents per foot. I cite this as an example, for I understand the same difference is made between the city and private parties in relation to other work. This should not be so. There is no good reason why the city should not have its work done as cheaply as any other party. And surely no business man would expect to survive long if he paid nearly fifty per cent. more for work and materials than his neighbor!

"I heartily indorse the recommendation, lately made by my predecessor, that all work of the description mentioned be let to the lowest bidder, he to do all such work that is required, at a stated price, for a certain time. This plan should, of course, not dispense with the inspection, by the proper officer, of the work performed. It may be worth considering, in connection with this scheme, whether it would not be well to establish a local improvement fund, from which the expense of such work could be at once paid—the fund to be afterward reimbursed by local taxation. This would give the city the advantage of dealing with the contractor on the basis of cash prices, and would prevent the accumulation of interest upon warrants given for work and remaining unpaid.

"In this connection I desire to call your atten-

tion to the very discreditable condition of our streets.

"There is, perhaps, no purpose to which the money raised by taxation could be more legitimately applied than to securing decently clean and safe streets and sidewalks. The health, safety and comfort of the citizen is directly involved in these things, to say nothing of the pride which we ought to have in the appearance of our city.

"I think it has been fully demonstrated that the plan at present pursued in the matter entirely fails to accomplish the desired purpose. We let the contract for carrying away the dirt and ashes from the streets, at a price for which no one can afford to do it properly; and we rely upon the citizens to gather up in front of their premises what the contractor has only agreed to carry away.

"If our streets are to be cleaned by contract, I think both the gathering up and the carting away should be done by the contractor. We should pay for the work what it is reasonably worth, and a contract, once entered into, should be rigidly enforced.

"The city might be divided into comparatively small districts, with a contractor for each district. In that case parties might compete for the work of a district who would not be equipped for doing a larger job.

"It has been suggested that a contract might be made for doing all the work for a term of years, with

a responsible party. This, it is claimed, would enable the contractor to provide himself with the appliances necessary to do the work properly, which he is not apt to do if his contract is only for one year.

"I am not prepared to make any positive recommendation on the subject, and leave the solution of the question to your larger experience and practical knowledge.

"It seems to me, however, that much might be said in favor of changing the whole system of doing this, and other work of the same description, and putting it in charge of one of the present departments of the city, or a new one, to be organized for that purpose.

"We have ten street inspectors, appointed by the Street Commissioner, by and with the advice of the Common Council. These persons are supposed to have certain duties to perform,—among others to discover and report any defects dangerous to life and limb, in the streets and sidewalks. I am led to believe that frequently the persons appointed to these positions either have no idea of a proper performance of their duties, or are incapable of doing the work required of them. Suits are constantly brought against the city, for personal injuries caused by defects in the streets and sidewalks; and verdicts are frequently recovered, upon the theory that the defect has existed so long that notice of the same to the city is presumed. There does not seem to be

much excuse for this; and these officers should be strictly held to a faithful and efficient performance of their duties, or the offices abolished.

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PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

"Our public schools are matters of such vital public concern, and so intimately connected with good citizenship, that I recommend all necessary measures be taken to promote their usefulness and efficiency.

"I am led to the belief, that in the matter of the repairs and refurnishing of the public school buildings the utmost economy is not exercised. I am not furnished with the expenses incurred in this matter, but I am convinced that if a committee of citizens in the several districts would take it upon themselves to look after these things, much useless expenditure, by being brought to their notice, might in future be avoided.

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OFFICIAL PRINTING.

"The charter provides that the Common Council shall designate one of the daily newspapers published in the city, as the official paper; and the action of the Council in this matter is expressly exempted from the operation of the veto power of the Mayor. Thus the whole responsibility is upon your honor-

able body. Under such circumstances, I might well refrain from alluding to this subject. And yet I hope it may not be considered entirely out of place, to remind you that work of this description, like all other, should be done where it can be done the cheapest. This is not accomplished, when it is bestowed as a professed reward for party service, or an item of political patronage. Why should other work for the city, involving the expense of a few hundred dollars, be advertised, to the end that the lowest price for which it can be done may be ascertained, and this printing, which involves the expenditure of thousands of dollars, be given to a party organ, without question?

"The Common Council is to designate, but before you can designate intelligently, if your object is to save the people's money, you must inform yourselves where this work can be done the cheapest, and designate accordingly. I hope you will see fit to advertise for proposals to do this printing, so that there may be at least a chance of accomplishing a saving in this direction.

AUDITOR.

"It seems to me that the duties which should be performed by this officer have been entirely misapprehended. I understand that it has been supposed that he does all that is required of him, when he tests the correctness of the extensions and footings

of an account presented to him, copies the same in a book, and audits the account as charged if the extension and footings are found correct. This work is certainly not difficult, and might well be done by a lad but slightly acquainted with figures.

"The charter requires that this officer 'shall examine and report upon all unliquidated claims against the city before the same shall be audited by the Common Council.' Is it not very plain that the examination of a claim means something more than the footing of the account by which that claim is represented? And is it not equally plain that the report provided for includes more than the approval of all accounts which *on their face* appear correct?

"There is no question but that he should inquire into the *merits* of the claims presented to him; and he should be fitted to do so by a familiarity with the value of the articles and the services embodied in the accounts.

"In this way he may protect the interests of the city; otherwise his services are worse than useless, so far as his action is relied upon.

CLOSING OF OFFICES.

"I am utterly unable to discover any valid reason why the city offices should be closed and the employees released from their duties at the early hour

in the day which seems now to be regarded as the limit of a day's work. I am sure no man would think an active private business was well attended to if he and all his employees ceased work at four o'clock in the afternoon. The salaries paid by the city to its officers, and their employees, entitle it to a fair day's work. Besides, these offices are for the transaction of public business; and the convenience of all our citizens should be consulted, in respect to the time during which they should remain open.

"I suggest the passage of an ordinance prescribing such hours for the opening and closing of the city offices as shall subserve the public convenience.

"It would be very desirable if some means could be devised to stop the practice so prevalent among our city employees, of selling or assigning in advance their claims against the city for services to be rendered. The ruinous discounts charged and allowed greatly diminish the reward of their labor; in many cases habits of improvidence and carelessness are engendered; and in all cases this hawking and trafficking in claims against the city presents a humiliating spectacle.

"In conclusion, I desire to disclaim any dictation as to the performance of your duties. I recognize fully the fact, that with you rests the responsibility of all legislation which touches the prosperity of the city and the correction of abuses. I do not

arrogate to myself any great familiarity with municipal affairs, nor any superior knowledge of the city's needs. I speak to you not only as the Chief Executive Officer of the city, but as a citizen, proud of its progress and commanding position. In this spirit the suggestions herein contained are made. If you deem them not worthy of consideration, I shall still be anxious to aid the adoption and enforcement of any measures which you may inaugurate looking to the advancement of the interests of the city and the welfare of its inhabitants.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

In laying some of Mayor Cleveland's vetoes before the reader, I shall make only such remarks as are necessary to introduce them, and such as may assist the hasty reader in selecting those of most interest to him. There was a weekly meeting of the Common Council, and Mayor Cleveland found it necessary to send in a veto at the first meeting after his Annual Message was received and read. At the second meeting he sent in another, regarding the selection of journals and the manner of publication of the proceedings of the Common Council.

I think the reader will admire the clear, common sense the new Mayor shows in the discussion of this question.

"BUFFALO, *Jan.* 16th, 1882.

"I deem it my duty to return, without my approval, a resolution adopted by your honorable body on the 9th day of January, 1882, as follows:

"'That the City Clerk be, and hereby is directed to notify the proper heads of the following named German daily newspapers, the *Demokrat*, *Freie Presse*, and *Volksfreund*, to publish a synopsis, as the City Clerk may direct, of the proceedings of the Common Council for and during the year 1882, at an expense not exceeding $800 for each paper named that may comply with this resolution.'

"The Charter provides that the City Clerk shall publish the journal of the proceedings of the Common Council in the official paper. In this way, it must be conceded, liberal provision is made for the information of the people as to the action of their representatives. A complete journal of all that takes place in the Council, in the same form as it is officially kept, is every week, through the official paper, laid before the public.

"In this regard, I am led to believe but few cities do as much for their inhabitants.

"But I suppose it is claimed that many of our citizens and taxpayers are only able to read the German language, and for that reason cannot avail themselves of the information furnished by the official paper.

"It might well be said, that if the proceedings of

the Common Council are of importance to those of our fellow-citizens who are unable to read the English language, they need not necessarily be kept in ignorance regarding them, since they may easily be fully informed through others, by whom they are surrounded, and who can read the official paper, of its contents. And it will be borne in mind that the proposition is, not to publish the entire proceedings of the Council in the German papers specified, nor in any one of them, but to publish only such a synopsis of the same as the City Clerk shall direct. What part of the proceedings shall be published is to be determined by the City Clerk; and whether it shall be much or little, or whether it shall be such matter as it is important for the readers of these papers to know, or as they desire to know, is left entirely to him.

"It does not seem to me that such an arrangement is necessarily calculated to insure any useful information to our German fellow-citizens concerning the proceedings of the Common Council.

"Let me further call your attention to some considerations of a business nature, which I think furnish reasons why the resolution under consideration should not become operative.

"The German newspapers mentioned in the resolution depend for their success upon the amount and value of the news or information they furnish to their patrons. We will assume that some account of the proceedings of the Common Council—in other

words that a synopsis of such proceedings—is of importance and interest to their readers. I am quite sure that we may safely calculate that from motives of self-interest the proprietors of these newspapers will publish a synopsis much more satisfactory to their subscribers than any which the City Clerk would be apt to prepare; and they would do so for their own profit, and without any compensation from the city. If this is true, the effect of the resolution under consideration is to give these newspapers eight hundred dollars each for doing no more than they will in a sense be obliged to do without it. This comes very near being a most objectionable subsidy, which I think a little reflection will satisfy us all we ought not to encourage, and which I am sure the people are not prepared to tolerate.

"No reason in support of this resolution can be derived from the consideration that we pay an English paper for publishing the official proceedings, and therefore we should pay the German papers for publishing a synopsis. A sufficient answer to this argument is that the Legislature has, wisely or unwisely, provided in our charter that the journal of the proceedings of the Common Council shall be published in the official paper, and in this matter we have no discretion. A proposition to pay any other English paper to publish the proceedings, or a synopsis of them, would meet with general disapproval.

"By advertising for bids before designating the official paper your honorable body has very properly, it seems to me, established the principle that all the publishing done for the city should be open to competition and awarded to the lowest bidder. And yet, by the terms of the resolution under consideration, a certain sum of money is given to the papers mentioned without even any specification of the amount of work to be done therefor.

"This is such a departure from correct business methods, and from the rule so lately and so commendably adopted by your honorable body, that if there were no other reasons I should deem this abundantly sufficient for my action in withholding my assent to the resolution herewith returned.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

The reader will observe that in this veto there is no regard paid by the Mayor to politics or party influence; the first paper on the list, the *Demokrat*, is of the Mayor's party, and the others may have been also, so far as appears; his only object was the public good and the saving of public money.

Public officers continually make the mistake that influence is gained and retained by close attention to the interests of "workers" and influential journals; but there is no more striking instance in our whole history of the rapid rise to a great influence

and a national reputation through a simple, upright, straightforward performance of official duty, than that of Mr. Cleveland.

Those who have paid some attention to city government will recognize in the next veto which I give, a very common method of getting hold of public money under the shadow of a legal form.

"BUFFALO, *Feb.* 27, 1882.

"By a resolution adopted by your honorable body on the 20th inst., warrants on the treasury were directed to be drawn in favor of J. C. Almendinger and A. P. Mason for $75 each for extra services performed in the Street Commissioner's office in examining the books, etc., of that department in the year 1881.

"On the 28th of November last Messrs. Almendinger and Mason were duly appointed as assistant Street Commissioner and clerk to the Commissioner respectively, and, as I am informed, were acting as such assistant and clerk at the time of the rendering the services for the payment of which the orders were directed to be drawn. During all these times they were 'persons appointed' under the charter within the meaning of section 4 of title 3 of that act, and as their salaries could not be increased or diminished during the period of their appointment, so, by the express provision of the section, no extra compensation can be allowed for any service they may have performed while acting as such assistant and clerk.

"It is suggested that the case is not within the prohibition of the statute, for the reason that the work was done outside the office, and at times not included in the regular office hours. I think there is no force in this suggestion.

"By the terms of the resolution itself it appears that the extra services performed were fairly embraced in the official duties of the persons performing them. To examine the books and to restore order to the records of the office was, as it seems to me, peculiarly the business of the claimants.

"If the work could not be done in the regular discharge of their duties, additional clerks might have been employed; but they having elected to do the work themselves they must now be regarded as standing in the attitude of claimants for extra compensation 'for the performance of duties which really pertained to the business of their offices or positions.'

"However meritorious these claims may be, their allowance by the city seems to be prohibited by law. I cannot, therefore, assent to their payment.

"The resolution is hereby returned without my approval.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

The following three messages concern the question of allowing the Street Commissioner livery.

The Commissioner followed up his claim, as will be seen from the dates of the Mayor's vetoes, during almost the entire period in which Mr. Cleveland was Mayor. The Commissioner showed a persistency in the matter worthy of a better cause; and manifested no little shrewdness in the variety he gave to his demands, illustrating the fact that "for ways that are dark, and for tricks that are vain," the city official is peculiar.

"BUFFALO, *April* 10, 1882.

"At your meeting on the 27th ultimo, a communication was received from the Street Commissioner, asking for an order for $75 for livery in his department during the quarter ending March 31st, last.

"On the same day there was also a communication from the Clerk of the Markets, stating that there would be due to him on April 1st three months' livery, $50, and asking that an order for such amount be drawn in his favor. In both cases the orders requested were directed to be drawn.

"To the propriety of this action I am not able to give my assent.

"It will be seen that in neither case is an account presented for specific expenses actually and necessarily paid in the business of the office. In both cases the claims are for sums assumed to have been periodically and arbitrarily fixed as part of the income and emoluments of these places, and in addition

to the salaries before established by your honorable body.

"The effect of your action would be to increase these salaries in direct violation of the provisions of the charter.

"On the 27th of February last I sent to the Common Council a message disapproving the drawing of warrants in favor of two gentlemen who were clerks in a city department for the payment of alleged extra services performed during the period of their clerkships. This disapproval was placed upon the ground that the action of your honorable body was, in effect, a violation of the provisions of the charter, to which I have referred, against the increasing of salaries during a term of office, and therefore invalid.

"That case does not differ in principle from the claims now presented.

"Both the Street Commissioner and the Clerk of the Markets doubtless knew, before entering upon their offices, the rate of compensation which had been fixed for such offices, and were bound to know the nature of the duties they were to perform. Should the discharge of these duties, in the judgment of the officer, involve the necessity of using and keeping a horse, it should be regarded, as it seems to me, as incidental only to the proper discharge of such duty, and there can be no valid claim for reimbursement against the city.

"I am therefore constrained to return without my approval your resolutions directing orders to be drawn, as above, in favor of the Street Commissioner and the Clerk of the Markets for livery.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

"BUFFALO, *May* 29, 1882.

"I return without my approval your resolution of the 15th inst., directing an order to be drawn in favor of the Street Commissioner for $100, for the use of a horse and wagon for his department from January 1st to May 1st, 1882.

"On the 10th of April last I communicated to your honorable body my disapproval of your resolution of March 27th, directing an order in favor of the Street Commissioner for $75, being the amount due (as was alleged) for the expense of livery for the Street Department for the quarter ending March 31st, 1882. In the message transmitted on that occasion I stated briefly the reasons for the action I had taken. As the claim then presented and allowed by your honorable body was in no substantial respect different from the claim allowed by your resolution of the 15th instant, I respectfully refer you to that message as containing some reasons why, in my opinion, this resolution should not be permitted to take effect.

"In both these cases the claim is for a sum of

money at a yearly rate fixed by the Commissioner himself for the use of a horse and wagon, owned and kept by himself for his own general purposes, and without the authority or direction of the city.

"Since sending my message of the 10th ultimo, I have further carefully considered the matter of such claims, and find no reason to change or modify the opinion expressed in that message that their allowance is, in effect if not in intention, the increasing of the salary of the Street Commissioner as the same had been determined before his election to that office. This salary is the measure of compensation for all the duties which the officer is required to perform, and can no more be increased by the allowance of a yearly sum for the use of a horse and wagon than of a yearly sum for the wages of a servant attached to his person, though such servant might sometimes assist in the discharge of the officer's duties.

"The law is extremely jealous of any attempt to increase the compensation of a public officer during his term of service. The charter of the city expressly forbids it; and to guard against the uncertainty and possible caprice of legislation a provision to the same effect has been inserted in the Constitution of the State.

"By section 24 of article 3 of that instrument it is declared that the Legislature shall not, nor shall the Common Council of any city, grant any extra compensation to any officer or contractor.

"A provision so wise and salutary should be observed with the most scrupulous care, and the officers of the city should be held, even at the expense of some disappointment, to a strict performance of their duties upon the terms implied by their election.

"The rule of your action, if approved, might be applied to other officers than the Street Commissioner, and so would grow up a precedent for violating both the law and the constitution in a matter so largely affecting the interests of the taxpayers of the city.

"I cannot, therefore, give my assent to the allowance of this claim.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

"BUFFALO, *Oct.* 16, 1882.

"I return without my approval a resolution passed by your honorable body on the second day of October, 1882, directing the City Clerk to draw a warrant in favor of Dennis Danahy for ninety-nine dollars for transportation furnished the Street Department for ten days in June and twenty-three days in July, 1882.

"The transportation spoken of in the resolution consists in the personal use of a horse and buggy by the Street Commissioner in the performance, I suppose, of his official duty.

"It amounts to nothing more or less than the allowance of livery to the Street Commissioner.

"But whether it is called transportation or livery this officer has never, to my knowledge, been authorized to make the city liable for anything of this kind.

"Section four of chapter twenty-seven of the Ordinances provides as follows:

"'No officer or employee of the city shall be authorized to contract any debt or incur any expenditure, except pursuant to an ordinance, order or resolution of the Common Council.'

"I do not pass here upon the legal question whether or not the city might be made liable if the acts of its officer, unauthorized in the first instance, were ratified by your honorable body; but I am determined that I will not in this case lend my aid to such ratification.

"On the 3d day of October, 1881, a resolution was passed by the Common Council declaring it to be the sense of that body that no amounts should be included in the estimates or appropriations for the year 1882 for livery for the Street Commissioner's Department, Department of Public Buildings, or Clerk of the Markets. No less than ten of the members of the present Council voted in favor of this resolution.

"I do not claim that this resolution was binding upon any subsequent Common Council, whose duty

it should be to fix upon the appropriations for the succeeding year; but it was passed, and I have been assured that the present Street Commissioner knew of its passage before he was nominated as a candidate for the office which he now holds. It will be thus seen that he had a very plain hint that any expense for livery in his office was to be included in his salary, and that he was not justified in supposing that any compensation on that score would be allowed to him.

"At the commencement of his official term he was presented by the inspectors attached to his office, as he himself declared, with a horse, buggy and harness. I do not speak of this to criticise the taste or propriety exhibited by a city officer in accepting such gifts from those who are subject to his direction in the performance of their duty, but rather to show that this official was gratuitously equipped with all that was necessary in the way of livery or transportation.

"Notwithstanding this, on the 27th day of March, 1882, a communication was sent to your honorable body, by the Street Commissioner, stating that the expense for livery for his department for the quarter ending March 31st was due, amounting to seventy-five dollars, and asking that a warrant be drawn in his favor for that amount; thereupon a resolution directing such order drawn was passed by your honorable body, which action I felt obliged to disapprove.

"On the 15th day of May, 1882, another communication was received by your honorable body from the Street Commissioner, stating that there was due for use of a horse and wagon for his department, from January 1st to May 1st, 1882, the sum of one hundred dollars as by a voucher submitted, and recommending that a warrant be drawn in his favor to pay the same.

"Pursuant to such recommendation this warrant was ordered drawn by your honorable body. This action I also disapproved.

"Very soon after this, I was informed that the Street Commissioner had disposed of his horse and buggy.

"The claims made by the Street Commissioner himself having been disposed of as indicated above, Dennis Danahy, his relative and friend, now presents two accounts against the city, amounting to ninety-nine dollars, for the payment of which the warrant now under consideration was directed to be drawn. One of these accounts is stated to be for transportation for the Street Department from the 19th of June to the 30th of June, both inclusive, being ten days at three dollars per day; the other is for the use of a horse and buggy from July 1st to the 29th, inclusive. It appears from a statement attached to this account that a charge of three dollars is made for every day between the last-named dates, except Sundays, the Fourth of July, and an-

other day, making twenty-three days. I have also before me two other accounts in favor of the same party, one claiming sixty-nine dollars for the month of August, and the other seventy-eight dollars for the month of September.

"It will be thus seen that if these accounts are allowed and paid, this livery or transportation, for which the Street Commissioner in the outset only asked three hundred dollars for the year, will cost the city nearly three times that sum.

"It would be much cheaper for us to present the officer with an establishment.

"I cannot forbear alluding to another circumstance. Upon an investigation of this matter, I am informed that the horse and buggy formerly owned by the Street Commissioner was, up to within two months ago, in the stable of the man who presents these accounts.

"This does not necessarily affect the validity of these claims, but it induces me the more earnestly to request your honorable body to relieve me from any further consideration of this unpleasant subject.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

The following five messages sufficiently explain themselves. In the first of them the reader will see the Mayor's confession of his own hasty action in the matter.

ECONOMY IN PRINTING.

"BUFFALO, *April* 17, 1883.

"At the last meeting of your honorable body, the following preamble and resolution was adopted:

"'*Whereas*, It is in the interest of the large German class of our tax-payers to be informed of the notice of tax sale by the City of Buffalo; therefore be it

"'*Resolved*, To publish said tax sale in the three daily German papers of this city in four different issues of each of them, and at the pro rata rate of the English papers.'

"On the same day it was represented to me that the cost of the publication provided for would be one hundred and fifty dollars for each of the papers mentioned, and that it was necessary that preparations for the publication should be made at once. Upon these representations, I signified my approval of the resolution.

"I knew, of course, that the publication of the notice of tax sale in the German papers was not necessary to the validity of the sale; but I was willing to assent to the expenditure of four hundred and fifty dollars for this purpose, because I thought it might possibly increase the chance of some of our delinquent German tax-payers paying their taxes, thus preventing increased expense to them and perhaps the sacrifice of their property.

"A few days afterward my attention was called

particularly to this matter, and upon examination I found to my great surprise that the publication authorized by this resolution involved an expense to the city of nearly four thousand dollars, not one cent of which is specially chargeable upon the land advertised.

"I of course immediately withdrew my approval of the action of your honorable body, and notified the proprietors of the German newspapers to that effect.

"No publication has yet been made in any of these papers, though I am informed that the type has been nearly or quite prepared by one of them, which was to be used by all.

"I now return the said resolution without my approval, for the reason that the appropriation of the amount of money thereby authorized, for publishing the matter referred to in the German newspapers, is in violation of the charter.

"If your honorable body should, after due deliberation, deem it proper that any of the public money should be spent in this way, I am unable to see why every useful purpose will not be subserved by allowing notice of the sale of lands situated in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh wards to be published twice in each of these papers. The cost of this cannot, I think, exceed two hundred and fifty dollars to each paper.

"Though there may be a slight excuse for my ap-

proval of this resolution in the first instance, I desire to acknowledge that my action in the matter was hasty and inconsiderate. A little examination and reflection would have prevented it.

"Allow me to say, further, that with a little more attention on the part of your honorable body, I am convinced that the resolution herewith returned would not have been presented for my approval.

"I earnestly invite the co-operation of every member of your honorable body, by official act and by suggestion to me, to prevent such things in the future.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

"BUFFALO, *May* 8, 1882.

"At the last session of your honorable body a resolution was adopted directing the City Clerk to draw a warrant for five hundred dollars in favor of the Secretary of the Firemen's Benevolent Association.

"This action is not only clearly unauthorized, but it is distinctly prohibited by the following clause of the State Constitution:

"'No county, city, town, or village shall hereafter give any money or property, or loan its money or credit to, or in aid of any individual, association, corporation, or become directly or indirectly the owner of stock in, or bonds of any association or

corporation; nor shall any such county, city, town, or village be allowed to incur any indebtedness, except for county, city, town, or village purposes.'

"At the same meeting of your honorable body the following resolution was passed:

"'That the City Clerk be and he is hereby directed to draw a warrant on the Fourth of July Fund for five hundred dollars to the order of J. S. Edwards, Chairman of the Decoration Day Committee of the Grand Army of the Republic, for the purpose of defraying the expense attending a proper observation of Decoration Day.'

"I have taxed my ingenuity to discover a way to consistently approve of this resolution, but have been unable to do so.

"It seems to me that it is not only obnoxious to the provisions of the Constitution above quoted, but that it also violates that section of the charter of the city which makes it a misdemeanor to appropriate the money raised for one purpose to any other object. Under this section I think money raised 'for the celebration of the Fourth of July and the reception of distinguished persons' cannot be devoted to the observance of Decoration Day.

"I deem the object of this appropriation a most worthy one. The efforts of our veteran soldiers to keep alive the memory of their fallen comrades certainly deserves the aid and encouragement of their

fellow-citizens. We should all, I think, feel it a duty and a privilege to contribute to the funds necessary to carry out such a purpose. And I should be much disappointed if an appeal to our citizens for voluntary subscriptions for this patriotic object should be in vain.

"But the money so contributed should be a free gift of the citizens and tax-payers, and should not be extorted from them by taxation. This is so, because the purpose for which this money is asked does not involve their protection or interest as members of the community, and it may or may not be approved by them.

"The people are forced to pay taxes into the City Treasury only upon the theory that such money shall be expended for public purposes, or purposes in which they all have a direct and practical interest.

"The logic of this position leads directly to the conclusion that, if the people are forced to pay their money into the public fund and it is spent by their servants and agents for purposes in which the people as tax-payers have no interest, the exaction of such taxes from them is oppressive and unjust.

"I cannot rid myself of the idea that this city government, in its relation to the tax-payers, is a business establishment, and that it is put in our hands to be conducted on business principles.

"This theory does not admit of our donating the

public funds in the manner contemplated by the action of your honorable body.

"I deem it my duty, therefore, to return both of the resolutions herein referred to without my approval.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

CHILDREN IN THE STREETS.

"BUFFALO, *June* 5, 1882.

"My attention has been called by a committee from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, to the number of small boys and girls found upon our streets at late hours in the night.

"I have reason to believe that many of these children are allowed, and some are obliged, by their parents, to thus remain in the streets for the ostensible purpose of earning money by selling newspapers or blacking boots. In truth, however, after a certain hour in the evening, the most, if not all, the money they receive, they obtain by begging or by false pretences. In the meantime they are subjected to the worst influences, leading directly to profligacy, vagrancy, and crime.

"The importance of caring for children who are uncared for by their natural guardians, or who are unmindful of parental restraint, must be apparent to all. In the future, for good or for evil, their influence will be felt in the community; and certainly

the attempt to prevent their swelling the criminal class is worth an effort.

"It seems to me that no pretext should be permitted to excuse allowing young girls to be upon the streets at improper hours, since its result must almost necessarily be their destruction.

"The disposition of the boy (child though he be) to aid in his own support or that of others, in an honest, decent way, ought not to be discouraged. But this does not call for his being in the street at late hours, to his infinite damage morally, mentally and physically, and to the danger of society.

"I respectfully suggest that this subject be referred to the Committee on Ordinances and the Attorney, and that a committee from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children be invited to co-operate with them in an effort to frame an ordinance which will remedy the evil herein considered.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,

"*Mayor.*"

EXTRA PAY OF CLERKS.

The reader will find a veto under date of February 27, similar to this one.

"BUFFALO, *June* 19, 1882.

"At a meeting of your honorable body held on the 5th day of June inst., the Committee on Claims

reported in favor of allowing sundry accounts, and recommended that orders be drawn therefor, which report was adopted by your honorable body.

"Among these accounts are eighty-eight claims in favor of eighty-seven different persons for spreading taxes and copying rolls in the Comptroller's Department. The smallest claim is for three dollars, and the largest for one hundred and thirty-five dollars. Three dollars per day seems to have been allowed for such services, and when done in the evening the same price has been allowed for an evening's work. The aggregate amount of these bills is twenty-one hundred and nineteen dollars and fifty cents; and this sum represents seven hundred and six and one-half days' and evenings' work, performed during the month of May.

"I am free to say that these claims appear to me to be very objectionable, and that they develop a plan of doing business which would not in my opinion be adopted by any member of your honorable body in the management of his private affairs.

"And yet these amounts have been certified as correct by two city officers, found correct and recommended paid by the Committee of Claims, and ordered paid by your honorable body.

"In deference to the official action of those who thus preceded me in the examination of these claims, and pursuant to the direction of your honorable body, I have signed orders for the payment of all of these

demands except one in favor of Charles J. Kleber, for the sum of twenty-one dollars.

"This gentleman appears to be a regular employee in the Comptroller's office upon an annual salary; and he was paid in full such salary for the month of May.

"I suppose the claim he now presents is for work done in the Comptroller's office on seven evenings during that month. If he did work evenings for a short time, when extra labor in the office was required to be done, he did no more than any clerk in the department ought to do. And to allow him extra pay for such work would be a flagrant violation of the Constitution of the State of New York and of the provisions of our City Charter, as well as a disregard of fair and correct business principles.

"This subject has been so recently brought to the attention of your honorable body that it seems needless to enlarge upon it here.

"I have declined to sign the order for Mr. Kleber's extra pay, and am obliged, for the reasons stated, to withhold my assent from the action of your honorable body allowing his claim.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH OF CITIZENS.

"BUFFALO, *Sept.* 11, 1882.

"I return without my approval a resolution passed

by your honorable body on the 28th day of August, directing the Street Commissioner to replace the pump removed from the well on the corner of William and Watson streets, the expense to be charged to the well district.

"On the fifth day of June, 1882, this well was declared a public nuisance by a resolution of your honorable body, and the Street Commissioner was ordered to fill the same.

"This action was taken at the instance of the Board of Health, by whom the well had been condemned as unfit for use.

"But neither your honorable body nor the Board of Health took action in the premises until after the water of this well had been analyzed by a competent person. In his reports submitted to the Board of Health, dated May 18, 1882, he gives the amount of salt found in the water of this well and others. His theory is that the presence of salt in well water, in the quantity found in the water of many of the wells embraced in his report, indicates that it holds in solution the nastiest kind of filth. He does not hesitate to express the opinion that the water of this well and that of twelve others, specified in his report, is 'vile, and disgustingly contaminated with filth.' It further appears from his report that the particular well under consideration stands third in the list as to the extent of contamination.

"Under these circumstances the action of your

honorable body, in inviting the people to drink the water of this well, can, it seems to me, only be justified upon one of four grounds, viz.:

"*First.*—A good deal of nastiness and contamination in the water furnished our citizens to drink is not objectionable.

"No one, I think, has the hardihood to advance this theory. And if there is in the mind of any one the idea that it is not necessary to supply the poor and laboring people in the vicinity of this well with water as pure and healthful as that furnished to their richer and more pretentious fellow-citizens, I desire to say that I have no sympathy with such a notion. On the contrary, I believe that the poor who toil should of all others have access to what nature intended for their refreshment—wholesome and pure water.

"*Second.*—A chemical analysis does not furnish the proof upon which we may safely act in determining the quality of the water in this well.

"I should be sorry to think that there is any disposition to belittle or distrust a science so well advanced as chemistry, and one upon which are constantly based determinations affecting the most important interests and rights, and which is so often appealed to in courts of justice when human life is at stake.

"*Third.*—The analysis presented of the condition of the water in this well is not entitled to our entire confidence.

"The standing and ability of the expert who furnished the analysis, and his knowledge of the branch of science to which he has devoted himself, are certainly unimpeached and I think unimpeachable. Besides, the results at which he has arrived with regard to some of the wells which he examined have been indorsed and confirmed by another competent chemist.

"*Fourth.*—If any of the people living in the vicinity of this well insist upon drinking its impure water they should be permitted to do so.

"This doctrine, if carried to its legitimate conclusion, would leave so little of sanitary supervision to be exercised by boards of health that they might well be abolished.

"My belief is that the citizen should be allowed great freedom in matters pertaining to himself as an individual. And yet this freedom should be no more than is consistent with the ends and purposes of a just and useful government; and there is no place in this enlightened age for the proposition that the authorities of a city may maintain an unwholesome public well, known to be such, even though the people are willing to take the risk to life and health in the use of the water.

"It is not unnatural that the closing of a well that has been so long in use should give rise to dissatisfaction and clamor; but when we are so clearly in the path of public duty as in the present case, it

seems to me we should not yield. We can well afford to wait for the cooler second thought which will approve our course.

"I have seen a remonstrance signed by a number of citizens residing in the neighborhood of this well, protesting against its being restored to use.

"They accepted the situation when it was closed, and, at some expense, have provided themselves with Niagara water, and they claim they should not be taxed for this well which will be of no use to them.

"I believe there is merit in this claim under all the circumstances. I think, too, the extension of our water pipes and the use of Niagara water by all our people should be encouraged.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,

"*Mayor.*"

The terms of the Buffalo charter required that proposals should be sent in by advertisement for work that would cost over two hundred dollars. But on one occasion the Board of Common Council passed resolutions for doing such a job of work by simply dividing it into three parts, neither of which was to cost over two hundred dollars. This the Mayor vetoed as follows, on the Monday preceding his resignation:

"BUFFALO, *Nov.* 13, 1882.

"At a meeting of your honorable body, held on

the 30th day of October, three resolutions were passed directing the Engineer to cause a crosswalk to be constructed on the easterly side of the Upper Terrace.

"The first of these resolutions provides for the building of such crosswalk from the northerly line of Eagle street to the southerly line of Genesee street, at an expense not to exceed fifty dollars; the second resolution provides for its construction from the northerly line of Genesee street to the southerly line of Genesee street, at an expense not to exceed two hundred dollars; and the third for the building of the same from the northerly to the southerly line of Eagle street, at an expense not to exceed two hundred dollars.

These three sections, the construction of which is thus provided for, form a continuous line of crosswalk extending from the southerly line of Eagle street to the northerly line of Genesee street, and should be included in one job; and it is entirely plain that the expense of the entire work will exceed two hundred dollars.

"In such a case, by the terms of the charter, proposals should be invited by advertisement for doing the work.

"The resolutions, as passed, directing this crosswalk to be constructed piecemeal and without advertising for proposals, seem to me to be an attempt to evade a provision of law enacted for the protec-

tion of the tax-payers, and for that reason I return all of said resolutions without my approval.

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

Mayor Cleveland's zeal in the cause of economy and his close attention to details are showed by the four following vetoes:

ECONOMY IN PRINTING.

"BUFFALO, *July* 3, 1882.

"I return without my approval your resolution of the 19th inst., directing the City Clerk to publish the act creating a Board of Sewer Commissioners in two successive issues of all the daily papers of the city.

"The act has been published at length in the official paper on four several occasions, and, I think, has been published and frequently noticed in the other papers of the city.

"After much more publicity than is usually given to any law affecting our citizens, the act has become of force, and the rights and liabilities under it, whatever they may be, have become fixed, and there seems to be no greater necessity for publishing it as suggested than for the publication of other laws relating to the affairs of the city. The act when published will occupy a space about equal to a column of the large dailies. The ex-

pense of publishing is not limited by the resolution, and will doubtless amount to a considerable sum.

"I do not feel satisfied that the interests of the public require the incurring of this expense, and I cannot therefore approve your resolution.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

ECONOMY IN PRINTING.

"*July* 10, 1882.

"On the 26th ultimo your honorable body adopted the following resolution:

"'That the City Clerk be and is hereby directed to publish the late act passed by the Legislature in the month of April or May, under which the street cleaning contract is to be awarded, in two successive issues in all the daily papers of the city.'

"The act referred to in this resolution is an amendment to a single section of the City Charter. It has been published with your proceedings in the city paper, and is easily accessible to any one requiring information as to its provisions.

"A similar resolution relating to the act establishing the Sewer Commission was adopted by your honorable body on the 19th ultimo and disapproved by me on the 3d instant. I can find no reason

why the city should be subjected to the expense of publication in one case more than in another, or why both resolutions should not be regarded by me in the same manner.

"I therefore return your above-mentioned resolution of the 26th ultimo without my approval.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

"BUFFALO, *Sept.* 4, 1882.

"I return without my approval the resolution adopted by your honorable body on the 21st day of August, 1882, which evidently was intended as an acceptance of certain lands conveyed to the city by the Richmond Avenue Land Association, for two streets, to be called respectively Cleveland Street and Webster Street.

"The language of the resolution is quite indefinite and faulty in that the grantor of the land is named as the Richmond Land Association, and the acceptance of the land so dedicated is not as distinctly declared as it should be.

"Inasmuch as it may be exceedingly important to the city in the future to have proceedings of this character exactly and technically correct, I advise that such resolutions be prepared by the City Attorney.

"Another objection I have to the resolution under consideration is that it contemplates the estab-

lishment of two streets only fifty feet wide. I think no street should be laid out in this locality less than sixty feet in width. It is much better to provide for a proper width now than to be obliged to enlarge the streets in the future when it shall be necessary.

"I desire to suggest to your honorable body the very great importance of a full and careful consideration of the manner in which new streets should be laid out. It has been too much the custom to accept any and all grants of lands for streets, and, as long as it did not involve expense to the city, to permit them to be laid out of any length and width the owners of the adjoining lands desire. In this way the private interests of those desiring to sell land on the proposed street are consulted and answered; it may be at the expense of the beauty and regularity of the city and the convenience of present or future residents.

"I think a general plan for all streets to be hereafter laid out should be adopted and strictly followed.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

"BUFFALO, *May* 1, 1882.

"I return without my approval a resolution adopted by your honorable body on the 17th day of April, 1882, directing the Street Commissioner to cause a sidewalk to be constructed on the west side of Main

Street, between Humboldt parkway and about 1,000 feet northerly, at an expense not to exceed two hundred dollars.

"The land on the west side of Main Street and extending more than two thousand feet northerly of Humboldt parkway is owned by the same party. It has no sidewalk along any part of it, the fence is mostly down, the land in front of it very uneven, with occasional and irregular trees, presenting altogether a very unpromising place for a sidewalk. There are no houses on the premises except a small and dilapidated one, at the extreme northerly limit. On the east side of Main Street, opposite this land, there are more habitations and a good sidewalk.

"I do not think, in the present condition of affairs, that the proposed sidewalk is necessary or ought to be constructed.

"And if it were necessary, I should still object to the action of your honorable body for the reason that it only provides for building a sidewalk for less than half the distance where none now exists.

"It is quite obvious that if any sidewalk is needed at this locality, it is needed for a distance of more than two thousand feet; and the whole should be built together.

"This involves an expense which would make it necessary to advertise for proposals to do the work.

"The provisions of the charter on this subject

should not, in my opinion, be evaded by doing work of this kind piecemeal.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

I have yet to consider the two most important matters that came before Mayor Cleveland during his term of office: first, that of awarding the cleaning of the streets of Buffalo; secondly, the construction of an intercepting sewer. In the former case Mayor Cleveland saved the city more than one hundred thousand dollars by his "plain speech veto"; in the latter case he saved the city more than eight hundred thousand dollars, or half the original estimate.

THE PLAIN SPEECH VETO.

"BUFFALO, *June* 26, 1882.

"I return without my approval the resolution of your honorable body, passed at its last meeting, awarding the contracts for cleaning the paved streets and alleys of the city for the ensuing five years to George Talbot at his bid of four hundred and twenty-two thousand and five hundred dollars.

"The bid thus accepted by your honorable body is more than one hundred thousand dollars higher than that of another perfectly responsible party for the same work; and a worse or more suspicious feature in this transaction is that the bid now accepted

is fifty thousand dollars more than that made by Mr. Talbot himself within a very few weeks, openly and publicly to your honorable body, for performing precisely the same services. This latter circumstance is to my mind the manifestation, on the part of the contractor, of a reliance upon the forbearance and generosity of your honorable body which would be more creditable if it were less expensive to the tax-payers.

"I am not aware that any excuse is offered for the acceptance of this proposal, thus increased, except the very flimsy one that the lower bidders cannot afford to do the work for the sums they name.

"This extreme tenderness and consideration for those who desire to contract with the city, and this touching and paternal solicitude lest they should be improvidently led into a bad bargain, is, I am sure, an exception to general business rules, and seems to have no place in this selfish, sordid world, except as found in the administration of municipal affairs.

"The charter of your city requires that the mayor, when he disapproves any resolution of your honorable body, shall return the same with his objections.

"This is a time for plain speech, and my objection to the action of your honorable body, now under consideration, shall be plainly stated. I withhold my assent from the same, because I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent, and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the

people, and to worse than squander the public money.

"I will not be misunderstood in this matter. There are those whose votes were given for this resolution whom I cannot and will not suspect of a wilful neglect of the interests they are sworn to protect; but it has been fully demonstrated that there are influences, both in and about your honorable body, which it behooves every honest man to watch and avoid with the greatest care.

"When cool judgment rules the hour, the people will, I hope and believe, have no reason to complain of the action of your honorable body. But clumsy appeals to prejudice or passion, insinuations, with a kind of low, cheap cunning, as to the motives and purposes of others, and the mock heroism of brazen effrontery which openly declares that a wholesome public sentiment is to be set at naught, sometimes deceives and leads honest men to aid in the consummation of schemes which, if exposed, they would look upon with abhorrence.

"If the scandal in connection with this street cleaning contract, which has so roused our citizens, shall cause them to select and watch with more care those to whom they intrust their interests, and if it serves to make all of us who are charged with official duties more careful in their performance, it will not be an unmitigated evil.

"We are fast gaining positions in the grades of

public stewardship. There is no middle ground. Those who are not for the people, either in or out of your honorable body, are against them, and should be treated accordingly.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

Now we come to the most important measure that came before Mayor Cleveland.

The health of the citizens of Buffalo had long been seriously endangered by the condition of the Hamburg Canal. Different measures of relief had been discussed; the question had attracted wide attention in the press, among the city authorities, and among the citizens generally. Mayor Cleveland alluded to the matter, January 2, 1882, in his first message, in the following terms:

PUBLIC HEALTH AND VITAL STATISTICS.

"The Health Physician furnishes the following as the number of deaths, births, and marriages in the city, from the first day of January to the twenty-fifth day of December, 1881:

Number of deaths and still births	3,980
Number of births	4,953
Number of marriages	1,267

"Of the total deaths reported, 1,378, or more than 36 per cent. of all, have been from zymotic dis-

eases, dependent, in some degree at least, upon surrounding conditions, and which, to a certain extent, are regarded as preventable.

"I mention this fact because it emphasizes the importance of a due regard and care for our sanitary condition, and the means necessary for its improvement.

"And I cannot pass to another subject before urging upon you the great and present necessity of constructing a sewer in the lower part of the city, and the consequent abatement of the nuisance which now exists in the Hamburg Canal.

"No argument is necessary to present the importance of this work. I do not look upon it as something that may be dispensed with, or even postponed to a more convenient season. No one has, I believe, the hardihood to deny that, as long as the present condition of things exists, there lurks in our very midst danger great and imminent. And this danger threatens not the property interests alone, but the lives and health of our fellow-citizens. We have no right to falter or procrastinate. Because we have had a measure of immunity from its worst consequences hitherto, we ought not to tempt Providence further. This work is actually indispensable, and the question of economy is not a factor in the problem, except so far as it should guide us to the selection of the cheapest effectual plan and urge us to insist that the money raised for that purpose is

actually and honestly applied. If a pestilence should be abroad and—invited hither by our present condition—should settle in our midst, sweeping off thousands of our inhabitants, there would be but little comfort in the reflections of the survivors of those who had become victims of culpable neglect and false economy. It is unfortunate that this outlay is necessary, but, as it is, let us manfully face the situation, devise the best means for securing our safety, do the work and pay for it.

"The accomplishment of any scheme for our relief seems to be fraught with great practical difficulties. The work, when accomplished, should be for all time, and sufficient for all future needs. I think, under such circumstances, it would be money well spent, to employ the best available engineering skill to plan, and perhaps superintend, its execution."

Taking into consideration the importance and magnitude of the work, Mayor Cleveland considered that the best way through the difficulty would be to have the work done under the supervision of a Board of Commissioners chosen from prominent citizens. This plan he recommended to the Common Council in the following message:

"BUFFALO, *Feb.* 20, 1882.

"I believe it is conceded by all that there is at present nothing so important to the welfare of our

city as the construction of the intercepting sewer which has been the subject of so much discussion; and the same reasons which render this important make it necessary that the work should be quickly done, and well done. And yet, though considerable time and labor have been bestowed upon the subject, and though much preliminary work has been done, we are not at the threshold of actual performance.

"Thus valuable time is lost, and the danger to our citizens and the damage to the fair fame of our city continues.

"I do not think that your honorable body is at fault for this delay, for all must admit that this matter has of late occupied much of your time and attention.

"The construction of this sewer is, I believe, the most extensive work, and will probably involve more expenditure and more care and attention than any ever before attempted in the city. It should meet all the necessities of the future and anticipate the needs of the increased growth and progress which await us.

"There should be no mistake made in locating the sewer; and the manner of its construction should be superintended and constantly watched by the best engineering skill and care. I understand that three years is the least estimate of the time required for its completion, during which period the terms of all the present city officers will expire.

"The advantage of having the work commenced and completed under the same management must be obvious.

"The character of the work is such that it is hardly possible that a contract can be made covering all contingencies and which would need no modification during the progress of construction; while unforeseen and unexpected conditions that are likely to be met should be promptly and vigorously dealt with.

"Your honorable body has quite enough to occupy your time in the ordinary matters connected with municipal affairs, which from week to week are urged upon your consideration; and our City Engineer and his corps of assistants should be constantly employed in the city's current affairs which necessarily fall to his department.

"Under these circumstances I beg leave to suggest that the construction of the contemplated sewer be put in the hands of a commission of our citizens, who shall have full charge of the work.

"Of course the success of this scheme depends very much upon the men who are selected as commissioners; but I believe that we have men among us who will accept the positions, whose leisure will enable them to devote the necessary time to the matter, and whose energy and practical ability will insure the speedy and successful accomplishment of the work.

"It does no harm to bring the non-office holding portion of the community into more intimate relations with public affairs; and I should think it very strange if the importance of the subject would not suggest to all who are mindful of the welfare of the city the necessity of a united effort on the part of private citizens as well as officials, to protect our interests from the dangers which threaten them.

"The private citizen has no right to stand aloof and refuse to thus aid when called on, unless he is prepared to share the consequences of neglect.

"I am satisfied that a commission, properly selected, to prosecute this work, would be the means of saving much time and money, and that the sewer would be better and more thoroughly built than in any other way.

"I therefore recommend that measures be taken to secure the passage of a law organizing such a commission, with full control of the construction of this sewer; and that in the same bill such provisions may be incorporated as are necessary to provide for the payment of the expenses of the work.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

This proposal met with opposition in the Common Council, and was likewise opposed by the City Engineer; but it met the approval of the influential citizens of Buffalo, and the Mayor was strengthened

in his efforts by the encouragement he received in the journals, and from the conversations of the people. From the great number of papers connected with the subject I have selected those that seem most important, and which seem to connect the different stages of the proceedings sufficiently to render them tolerably clear to the reader. It will be seen that the Mayor carried his plan successfully through, notwithstanding the opposition that he met at various points. It soon became evident that the decision of the contest would be in favor of his strong will, contending for what he thought to be right.

"BUFFALO, *March* 27, 1882.

"On the 20th day of February last I submitted to your honorable body a communication suggesting, for the reasons therein assigned, the organization of a commission of citizens for the purpose of constructing the intercepting sewer.

"I did not propose this until after some reflection, and the advice of gentlemen in whose judgment I have the greatest confidence, had satisfied me that the plan suggested would insure the prompt, efficient, and economical accomplishment of the work.

"I am confirmed in my belief on this subject by the unanimous indorsement of the press, and the general approval of our tax-paying citizens.

"It was lately announced in the public prints that the Committee on Sewers, having the entire matter

in charge, had determined to recommend the adoption of the suggestion for the creation of a Sewer Commission.

"At the last session of your honorable body, and before any report was made by the committee, a communication seems to have been received from the Engineer of the city, seriously objecting to the plan for a commission, on the ground that it would take the work from his department. He further states that the only question to be considered in connection with the matter is one of location, which can be determined by your honorable body when the report now in preparation is submitted to you; that the work of construction is not difficult, being simply the making of a cut or tunnel of sufficient capacity in which to lay the sewer upon proper foundation, and the turning of one stream of water into another. He appears to see no force in the suggestion that it might be better for the work to be constructed entirely under the same management and supervision, and concludes by asking 'that the work upon which so much labor has been expended in this office be left under the control of this department,' and that 'the force of assistants in his office be increased during the progress of the work, as the necessities may require.'

"So much of the communication as refers to the employment of more assistants in the Engineer's office seems to have been adopted.

"This action of your honorable body I cannot approve, as I do not see why it does not allow the Engineer to increase his force of assistants in his discretion. This is, of course, a power that ought not to be conferred on any city officer.

"It seems to me that the good taste of the Engineer is not conspicuous in thus putting forward his official pride as a reason why any particular plan, looking to the accomplishment of this very important work, should not be adopted. At a time like this, when everybody is or should be anxious to be speedily rid of our city's disgrace, no such consideration ought to intervene.

"But I am utterly amazed to learn at this late day, from the Engineer's communication, that the job we have on hand is such an easy one.

"Every member of your honorable body knows very well that for many years the problem of how an intercepting sewer should be constructed, and especially how the Main and Hamburg street canal nuisance should be abated, has occupied more or less the attention of our city officials. I find in the Council proceedings of eleven years ago that this canal was declared a great nuisance, and various schemes were discussed for its abatement.

"I think about that time the city was indicted for its maintenance.

"Various expedients were subsequently canvassed by successive City Engineers and Common Councils,

but the actual result of all their endeavors to master this easy subject has been the establishment of a wheel in the water adjoining the canal, causing something of a current, thus, as is alleged, carrying the smell of our nuisance to the districts of the inhabitants of Tonawanda, ten miles away, and Lockport, more than twenty miles away, who now threaten to institute legal proceedings against us on account of it.

"On the 29th day of March, 1880, your honorable body, by resolution, directed the Engineer then in office to associate with him one or more sanitary engineers to assist him in perfecting his plans for the sewerage of the city, and 'especially for a speedy and permanent abatement of the Hamburg Canal nuisance, and that the Comptroller be requested to include in his estimates for the year 1880 the sum of three thousand dollars to defray the expenses attending the preliminary work or plans, and to pay said sanitary engineers.'

"Under this resolution the City Engineer did call to his aid two distinguished non-resident engineers. After going over the whole ground with great care, they made a report, dated the 29th day of July, 1880, in which they submit a plan for the sewerage of the city, which, as they say, will abate the Hamburg Canal nuisance.

"Their plan was to build the sewer partly in the Hamburg Canal. I suppose the money appropriated was spent.

"About a year later, three more engineers, more renowned than those previously employed, were called on by the city authorities to devise the best means of sewering our city and abating our nuisance.

"They reported, just prior to the first of January, 1882, in favor of a sewer to be constructed in, or by tunnel under, Seneca Street.

"At the last meeting of your honorable body, the sum of three thousand seven hundred and eight dollars and nine cents was ordered paid for the services of the last-named engineers.

"On the 9th day of January, 1882, the present Engineer was directed by your honorable body 'to prepare profiles and plans for an intercepting sewer embodying the suggestions in the report of the experts who have examined into the subject; also, to examine into and report upon the advisability of constructing said sewer from the mill-race sewer at Seneca Street through Swan Street to the Terrace, and report the same to this Council at as early a date as practicable, with an estimate of the cost of the same.'

"Nearly four months have elapsed since the passage of this resolution and no report from the Engineer is forthcoming. I suppose it is this which he informs your honorable body is in course of preparation and which will enable you to locate the sewer.

"Perhaps this will recommend a sewer in and under Swan Street.

"Not a stroke of real work has yet been done, and yet there seems to have been considerable skilful engineering talent employed, at quite an expense. So far as we have gone either the work has not been easy or considerable money has been wasted.

"Is there one of your honorable body who is willing to consider that the construction of this great sewer upon either of the routes that may be suggested, involving, as it must, deep and extensive excavation in and tunneling under our streets, with the unknown and unforeseen difficulties that may be met, is an easy matter not requiring engineering skill?

"I must confess that to my non-professional mind such a thing seems inconceivable.

"I am very far from saying that whatever engineering skill is necessary is not found in our present Engineer's Department. But I think this skill should be constantly applied in watching the prosecution of the work; and other duties of the department will not admit of this.

"I cannot rid myself of the idea that there must be an advantage in having the same engineer supervise the whole work, and this we cannot be sure of if it be left solely to our Engineer.

"It seems to me this sewer would be more promptly built by a commission having it in charge as their business; and that in the very nature of things the expenditures connected with its construc-

tion can be more carefully watched than by your honorable body who have so many other urgent matters constantly in charge.

"In whatever way the work is done we shall all, I hope, have an opportunity to help it on.

"I beg leave to assure your honorable body that I myself have no undue pride of opinion on this subject. I advocate the establishment of a commission to do this work because it promises the best results. The details of the matter I have given but little attention to, and I am by no means committed to any particular provisions for the perfection of the plans.

"GRO[redacted]R CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

"BUFFALO, *April* 3, 1882.

"I find in the proceedings of the meeting of your honorable body, held on the 27th day of March, 1882, the following preamble and resolution, which seems to have been adopted:

"'*Whereas*, The Common Council of the City of Buffalo at its last meeting were presented with a communication from the City Engineer, Thomas S. Rogers, protesting against the appointment of a Sewer Commission for the construction of the intercepting sewer, and recommended the matter of constructing said sewer be left in the charge of him and the Common Council; and

"'*Whereas*, The Council did adopt his recommenda-

tion, as it has been clearly shown that all the difficult part for the Engineer of said work has been done at a cost of over $10,000 through said office, and as we have a competent Engineer to superintend the construction of the work:

"'*Whereas*, the daily papers have published an act introduced before the Legislature of this State by Senator Titus from this district, for the appointment of a commission to take charge of the construction of said sewer; now be it

"'*Resolved*, That we, the Common Council of the City of Buffalo, being the representatives of the people, and believing we know what they want, hereby disapprove of said action of the said Senator Titus, and respectfully ask him to withdraw said bill or such portion thereof as relates to an appointment of said commission, and that the City Clerk be directed to forward a copy of this resolution to said Senator Titus.'

"I take this occasion to say that I do not feel called upon, in all cases, to officially approve or disapprove resolutions of this description, which do not constitute municipal legislation, and which in many cases are but the expression of opinion touching matters over which neither you nor I have any control. When such action is presented to me, as a part of the proceedings of your honorable body, I shall feel at perfect liberty to express my approval or dissent, or, if I see fit, withhold any action on my

part, to the end that both of us may enjoy the liberty of holding and expressing our opinions unembarrassed by the other, as to all matters which do not pertain to the ordinary management of municipal affairs, and which the Legislature has not placed in our keeping.

"In regard to the preamble and resolution which I have quoted, I desire to express my disapproval of the same, in its entire scope and meaning.

"It recited that your honorable body has adopted a recommendation of the City Engineer, that the matter of the construction of the intercepting sewer be left in his charge and that of the Common Council.

"I do not understand this to be the attitude of your honorable body, and I do not believe a majority of its members are prepared to take such a position.

"I am in favor of putting the construction of this sewer in the hands of a commission for reasons which I have heretofore given at length, and which involve no lack of confidence in your honorable body nor in any department of the City Government.

"I firmly believe that a majority of the people who are to be taxed to pay for this work are also in favor of this plan.

"I am inclined to think that the location or route of the sewer should be fixed by your honorable body, and that the commission to execute the work should

be appointed here instead of being named in the act authorizing its creation. My judgment is that the bill lately presented in the Senate touching this subject might well be modified in these and perhaps other particulars.

"But if I dissent from all the provisions of the bill, and even from the principle upon which it is based, I could not adopt the language of the preamble and resolution, which it seems to me savors of a not over-courteous dictation to our Senator, for whose ability I have the greatest respect, and in whose honesty of purpose I have the greatest confidence.

"I have no doubt the rights and interests of the people in this matter, so far as State legislation is concerned, can be safely left in the keeping of those who represent our citizens in the two branches of the State Legislature.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

"BUFFALO, *May* 1, 1882.

"On the 17th day of April, 1882, there was adopted by your honorable body a substitute for the bill which had been prepared by the City Attorney for the purpose of creating a commission to construct the intercepting sewer. At the same meeting the City Clerk was directed by resolution to forward such substitute to our representatives at Albany.

And at the last session of your honorable body a resolution was adopted directing the City Attorney to proceed to Albany immediately to urge the passage of said substituted bill.

"I cannot approve of the action of your honorable body above referred to.

"I have examined the provisions of the proposed bill carefully, and so far as I can understand them they provide for the creation of a commission which is invested with no duties of any great importance and with no powers except very subordinate ones. I cannot see that the commissioners contemplated by the act would be more than dignified inspectors of the work therein mentioned.

"My ideas in regard to the appointment of commissioners to further the construction of this work are too well known to need repetition here. I very much regret that there is not perfect agreement between us on this subject. I certainly expected that the provisions of the bill prepared by the City Attorney, by which your honorable body were to join in determining the route of the sewer, and in naming the commissioners under whose charge it should be constructed, would enable us to act together in an honest and hearty endeavor to push this great work to a satisfactory and speedy conclusion, and thus answer the hopes and wishes of our fellow-citizens.

"It certainly never entered my mind to ask any of our citizens to assume such offices as are pro-

vided for in the substitute adopted by your honorable body; and I am fully satisfied that a commission thus organized would be next to useless in the accomplishment of any good results. Its creation would, in my opinion, have the effect to divide responsibility without any corresponding benefit.

"Rather than this, I think it would be better to abandon the idea of a commission entirely.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

Ald. Knell moved that the communication from His Honor the Mayor be laid on the table.

Ald. Rogers moved as an amendment that the communication be received and referred to the Committee on Sewers, to report May 8, 1882.

The question was taken on the motion of Ald. Knell to lay on the table.

Carried. Ayes—14, Noes—4.

"BUFFALO, *May* 22, 1882.

"On the 8th day of May, 1882, a resolution was passed by your honorable body instructing our Senator and the Members of Assembly from the city, in case the construction of the intercepting sewer is authorized, to have an act passed permitting the city to issue bonds to pay for the same, which should mature in not less than twenty or more than fifty years from their date.

"I am opposed to such a postponement of the payment for this work; and I am quite sure that a majority of our tax-paying citizens are not in favor of thus increasing the bonded debt of the city.

"If we experience a fair portion of the prosperity which we expect in the near future it will be no very great hardship to pay the cost of the sewer by installments distributed through ten years, as is proposed by the terms of the bill now before the Legislature.

"This paying year by year, if we are able to do so, to my mind accords more with correct business principles than an unnecessary postponement and the payment of interest in the meantime.

"I therefore withhold my assent to such resolution.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,

"*Mayor.*"

"BUFFALO, *June* 12, 1882.

"Pursuant to an act passed by the Legislature of the State of New York on the eighth day of June, 1882, to create a Board of Commissioners of Sewers of the City of Buffalo, I hereby appoint the following named persons as such commissioners:

"Daniel C. Beard,

"Jacob Scheu,

"George Gorham,

"Michael Nellany,

"George B. Mathews.

"I respectfully ask your honorable body to confirm the said appointments.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"Mayor."

"CITY AND COUNTY HALL,
IN COMMON COUNCIL,
BUFFALO, Monday, *June* 19, 1882.
At 2 o'clock, P.M.

"Present—George W. Patridge, President of the Council, and Ald. Baer, Beck, Brainard, Doty, Drake, Elliott, Fritz, Glor, Hanback, Hanrahan, Hefford, Knell, Koch, Little, McMaster, Matteson, Maycock, Miller, Montgomery, Rochevot, Rogers, Rupp, Schier, Twichell, White.

Absent—None.

* * * * * *

"Ald. Drake moved to take from the table the communication from His Honor the Mayor relative to the appointment of a Board of Sewer Commissioners in connection with the intercepting sewer.

"Carried.

"Ald. Drake then moved that the communication be received and filed and nominations contained therein confirmed.

"Lost.

"Ayes—Ald. Baer, Drake, Elliott, Glor, Hanrahan, Hefford, Koch, Maycock, Montgomery, Patridge, Rogers, Rupp—12.

"Noes—Ald. Beck, Brainard, Doty, Fritz, Hanback, Knell, Little, McMaster, Matteson, Miller, Rochevot, Schier, Twichell, White—14."

"BUFFALO, *June* 26, 1882.

"The law lately passed by the Legislature, authorizing the appointment of commissioners to construct the intercepting sewer, provides that immediately upon the passage of the act the Mayor shall, by and with the advice of your honorable body, appoint such commissioners.

"Anticipating the passage of the law, I devoted a good deal of time and thought to their selection, and was then able to send to you for confirmation, at the next meeting of your honorable body after the approval of the act, the names of five of our fellow-citizens who were willing to act as such commissioners.

"It being conceded on all hands that the character and standing of these gentlemen, and their entire freedom from any inclination to enrich contractors at the expense of the people, was a perfect guarantee that this work, under their supervision, would be faithfully and economically done, I flattered myself that they would receive your prompt confirmation.

"I cannot but think that their rejection at the last meeting of your honorable body was the result of haste and confusion.

"We all agree that this work should not be delayed.

"If I should see fit to attempt to submit other names such as I am willing to be responsible for, it would be impossible to do so for some time to come.

"In the meantime, with this delay, and the vacation of your honorable body during the month of July, much valuable time will be lost.

"I am convinced that a majority of your honorable body do not care to be chargeable with this result.

"I assure you that it is no easy task to find fit men who are willing to gratuitously undertake this work; and in no event would I ever nominate men who did not have the fitness and ability of those already submitted to you.

"Under the circumstances I hereby nominate as such Sewer Commissioners the following named persons, and respectfully and earnestly request that they be confirmed:

"Daniel C. Beard,

"Jacob Scheu,

"George Gorham,

"Michael Nellany,

"George B. Mathews.

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"*Mayor.*"

"Ald. Drake moved that the communication be received, filed, and nominations confirmed.

"Carried.—Ayes, 17. Noes, 8."

This Board of Sewer Commissioners, immediately after their organization, examined the whole question thoroughly, and concluded to employ Col. George E. Waring, Jr., the well-known Sanitary Engineer, of Newport, Rhode Island, to aid them in selecting a route and plan for an intercepting sewer, which should fill the requirements of the future as well as the present.

Col. Waring visited Buffalo, and under date of August 17, 1882, he addressed the Commissioners as follows:

"GENTLEMEN: In compliance with your instructions I have examined the condition of your canals, and the circumstances in connection with your present and future sewerage which should influence the construction of the intercepting sewer needed to withhold the putrescible organic matter by which the canal water is now made foul. Concerning the importance of constructing such a sewer I need add nothing to the convincing arguments with which your community is already so familiar. Your citizens must recognize, to a greater degree than a casual visitor can do, the full bearing in this case of the demands of salubrity and of common decency. The question of the day with Buffalo is not at all as

to the policy of instituting the proposed reform, only as to the best means for securing it.

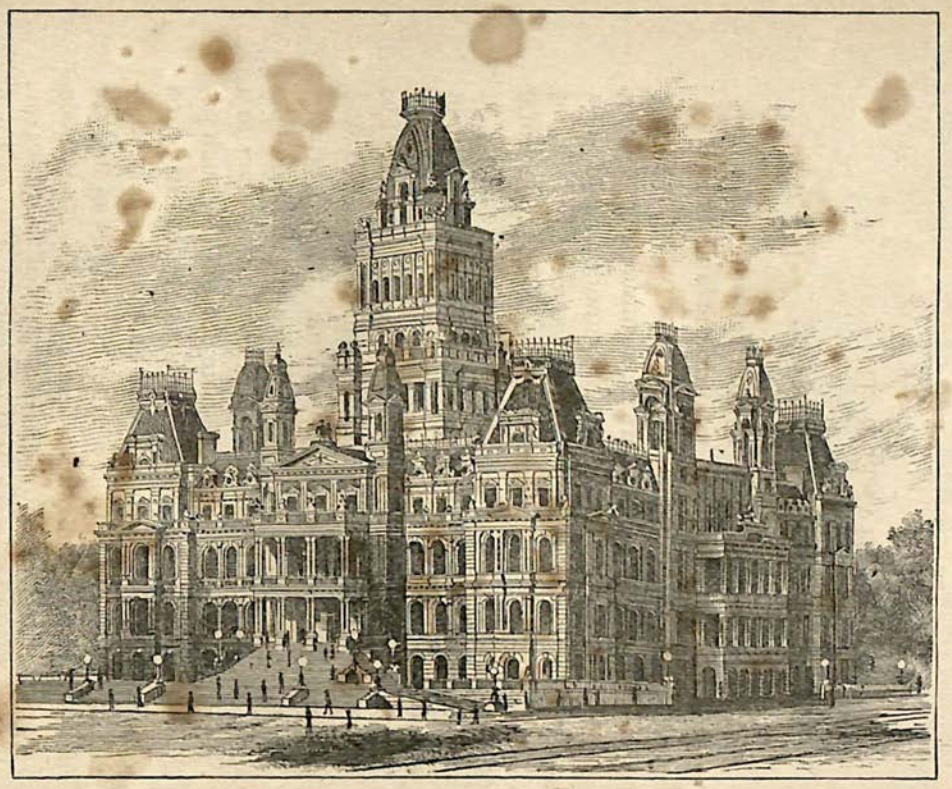
"I have under your guidance made an examination of the whole ground; I have received much information from your local engineers; I have examined with care the excellent contour map of the city, and I have endeavored to regard the subject from the point of view of the experts who have already reported upon it. With this preparation I venture to submit my report."

Then follows his report in detail, the plans contained in which were finally adopted; and they are now carrying out his recommendations at a cost of less than one-half the other preceding estimates.

I see it asked, with some affectation of ignorance I fancy, in some of the journals supporting Mr. Blaine for President:

"Who is Mr. Cleveland?" "What has he done?"

The reader who has taken the time to examine the preceding messages will not be at a loss to answer those questions. And in the next chapter he will find more of the same kind of work. Mr. Cleveland's clear, penetrating common sense, his accurate knowledge of law, his direct, pithy statements cannot fail to strike and favorably impress the thoughtful reader. He well deserves to be called Buffalo's Veto Mayor and New York's Reform Governor; with equal propriety he may be styled the Business-like Mayor and the Common Sense Governor.



STATE CAPITOL AT ALBANY, N. Y.

CHAPTER III.

REFORM GOVERNOR.

THE year 1882 was, in a political point of view, certainly one of the most memorable and probably one of the most influential years in our recent history.

There had for many years been mutterings of discontent, not only among the Democrats, but also among the Republicans. There was rapidly forming a well-defined and influential body of Independents, destined to draw upon themselves a large share of opprobrium and ridicule, but composed in the main of men not deeply vulnerable by the ordinary politician or party journal. But no one, even within their own body, imagined that their influence had assumed such gigantic proportions.

The year was now at hand in which these indications of discontent were to express themselves in a manner that surprised the whole nation. No such political "tidal wave" had swept over the country for a generation. And although the change was very striking in Massachusetts and other States, it was in New York that the most astonishing revolt took place. In that State the Independent vote for the first time showed to what an astonishing extent it had grown.

In 1879 Mr. Cornell defeated Governor Robinson by forty-two thousand votes (although, owing to the opposition of the "Young Scratchers," he ran 20,000 votes behind the rest of his ticket); in 1880 General Garfield had twenty-one thousand more votes in New York than General Hancock; but the reform movement of 1882 swept away these majorities, and gave Grover Cleveland such a majority as had never before been received by anybody in a State of the Union.

And this notwithstanding the fact that the Republican party was fairly well satisfied with the administration of Governor Cornell, and notwithstanding also that Mr. Cleveland's opponent, Judge Folger, was a man of acknowledged ability and high character.

This prodigious change was due to a combination of circumstances: first, it was a year of general reaction against the Republican party; secondly, there was a general uprising among the better elements of the Republican party in New York against dictation and intrusive interference in State politics by the National Administration.

Those in authority at Washington, together with a few prominent New York opponents of Governor Cornell, took it into their heads to defeat his renomination, and to name his successor. Changes were made among the government officials in Brooklyn, Albany, Utica, and other cities, for the sole purpose

of manipulating the local nominating machinery. Several of these officials who were sacrificed had been so efficient that the reason for their removal was apparent, and gave rise to a general protest in the journals and a greater one at the election. The people were determined to express in a forcible manner their disapproval of such a "debauchery of patronage."

The opposition to Governor Cornell from certain influential sources in New York sprang from motives even more unworthy than those which characterized the National Administration; so that the manner in which the nomination of Judge Folger was brought about was happily ascribed by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher to "a union of revenge and avarice."

In the Republican State Convention, moreover, there were well-founded accusations of bargaining and purchasing, and even of forgery.

In addition to these causes of the revolution in public sentiment, came the fortunate nomination by the Democrats of a man for Governor who had no record but a good one, a man who, as citizen and Mayor of Buffalo, had showed himself to have just the qualities needed in a Governor at that time. He had fully justified the expectations of the people of Buffalo that he would put down dishonesty in the government of their city; he had done this, and in doing it showed executive ability of a high order, an independence of party, a strength of will and straight-

forward practical dealing with public questions that had won for him golden opinions and spread his name throughout the State.

Closely following the Republican Convention that nominated Judge Folger, came the Democratic Convention at Syracuse.

It adopted the following platform, presented by General Roger A. Pryor, of Kings County, the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions:

The Democracy of New York in convention assembled declare:

First.—That whereas the country is again subjected by Republican maladministration to the evils and abuses which afflicted it in 1874, we reaffirm the principles of our platform of that year, under which the Republican party was driven from power, and the government of the State brought back for a time to the practice of economy and honesty.

Second.—We arraign the Republican majority in Congress for its culpable failure to reduce the amount of taxation to a sum sufficient only for the legitimate requirements of government under an honest and frugal administration; and we favor such tariff and fiscal reforms as shall relieve an over-taxed people from all unnecessary burdens, and prevent the accumulation of a fund to be lavished in profligate legislation, and the support of a horde of useless and idle placemen. In particular we proclaim our condemnation of the River and Harbor Bill, in which, by the multiplication and mutual support of ob-

noxious provisions, an infamous measure purchases its passage through Congress in disregard of the limitations of the Constitution, and to the depravation of the public morals.

Third.—In the nomination of the Secretary of the Treasury for Governor of New York, by which, in effect, a candidate for the Chief Magistracy of a State was appointed by the President, we see a fresh and impressive proof of the dangerous power of public patronage, and, urged by this alarming spectacle, we protest against Federal intervention in State elections, and repeat our demand of 1881 for a reform and purification of the Civil Service. And we are further admonished by the recent experience of the Republican corruption, of the necessity of forbidding, by penal enactment, the levying of blackmail from dependent office-holders to promote the interests of a party which finds no support in the intelligent and independent convictions of the people.

Fourth.—We hold the present Republican Administration responsible for unredressed outrages on our foreign-born fellow-citizens, and we demand for them, when abroad, the protection to which they are entitled in return for their voluntary allegiance, and which the honor of the American Government requires shall be extended to them.

Fifth.—We charge that in this State the Republican party has lowered the standard of the public service by its local administration and by the representatives it has sent to the houses of Congress, that it has made the State Legislature the instrument of the lobby to rob the

public and enrich corporations, and has refused to its Governor the renomination which was due to him by custom, because he dared to use his veto power to thwart such purposes in disregard of those who sought to control him by the influence of political and moneyed power.

Sixth.—We demand the restoration of the New York State National Guard to the efficiency of which it has been deprived, and which made it the representative of the soldierly spirit of the people.

Seventh.—In order to restore our merchant marine to its former prosperity, we demand the immediate revision and amendment of the laws relating to shipping and the carriage of ocean freights.

Eighth.—We favor the adoption by the next Legislature of the resolution of 1882, providing an amendment to the Constitution for the local self-government of cities.

Ninth.—Primary elections, openly and honestly conducted, afford the surest means of securing the most suitable candidates for public office, thus best preserving a democratic form of government. We therefore favor the speedy passage of general laws providing against fraud and intimidation at such elections.

Tenth.—The public welfare demands that the various questions relating to chartered monopolies, and the methods of transportation should be met and decided, and we are in favor of the adoption of measures to restrict the growing power of such monopolies. They should be subjected to the strict supervision of the Commission now provided by law. All unjust discriminations in the trans-

Grover Cleveland

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

GROVER CLEVELAND

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BY
PENDLETON KING

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NEW YORK AND LONDON
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
The Knickerbocker Press
1884

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PREFACE.

IN the preparation of the following biography I have attempted to portray Mr. Cleveland, as far as possible, by means of judicious selections from his own messages, vetoes, and speeches.

I venture to hope that in bringing before the people at large for the first time many of the vetoes of Mayor Cleveland, I am rendering a public service of no trifling value.

I have included such other documents as are most necessary for reference in the present political contest, hoping thereby to render it more useful to those taking a more or less active part in the campaign.

Now that there is a clearly defined contest in behalf of pure government, led by a man who, if elected, will surely give it to us so far as he can; at a time when there is such an Independent or Moral movement in favor of honesty and reform, I consider it no time for attempting to write a book that shall aim to be dramatic and amusing. On the other

hand, I have tried to produce a simple, clear narrative, free from exaggeration and empty rhetoric.

I would return my thanks to several gentlemen who have kindly assisted me by furnishing material, information, or advice. In the first place, to Governor Cleveland himself, in whose modesty, however, I found some restraint to the encouragement afforded me by his kindness and courtesy. It is hardly necessary to say that no responsibility rests with the Governor for either the selections of messages and other documents included in this book, or for the discussion of them.

I would also mention Mr. Everett P. Wheeler and Mr. Alexander Fullerton, of the New York Civil-Service Reform Association, Mr. L. F. Allen, Mr. W. S. Bissell, and Hon. D. N. Lockwood, of Buffalo. Mr. Burns, the City Clerk of Buffalo, kindly furnished me with a copy of the Proceedings of the Common Council for 1882; and Mr. F. F. Fargo with his own copy of a biographical sketch of Mr. Cleveland written by him in 1882, copies of which have now become scarce.

The kindness of some of these gentlemen was the greater from the fact that they are "red-hot Republicans," who had some scruples as to whether they ought to furnish me "with powder to shoot them with."

The critical reader will readily appreciate certain exigencies peculiar to a work of this kind: the most

important of which is promptness of publication. But, withal, I hope the picture here presented will preserve, in spite of its imperfections, something of the power and simplicity of its subject.

I certainly had before me some of the traits of "one of Plutarch's men" for whom so many have been looking; and if they do not appear in this unpretentious little book, it is only the fault of the biographer.

P. K.

NEW YORK, *July* 31, 1884.

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It seems to me, that a successful and faithful administration of the government of our city may be accomplished by constantly bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust, to be expended for their benefit; that we should, at all times, be prepared to render an honest account to them touching the manner of its expenditure; and that the affairs of the city should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns.

I cannot rid myself of the idea that this city government, in its relation to the taxpayers, is a business establishment, and that it is put in our hands to be conducted on business principles.

I believe in an open and sturdy partisanship, which secures the legitimate advantages of party supremacy; but parties were made for the people, and I am unwilling, knowingly, to give my assent to measures purely partisan, which will sacrifice or endanger their interests.

We go forth not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefits of a pure and honest administration of national affairs.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

portation of passengers and merchandise should be prohibited. The charges of corporations, which have taken the property of private citizens for public use, should be limited to the cost of service, with a reasonable profit, instead of the mercenary exaction of "all the traffic will bear." The laws should be so revised that taxation may be reduced so far as possible, and that personal and corporate property may severally pay their fair proportion of taxes.

Eleventh.—We approve the submission to the vote of the people of the constitutional amendment in favor of free canals; and we have full confidence that they will dispose of it in such manner as to promote all the great interests of the State—agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial.

Twelfth.—We reaffirm the policy always maintained by the Democratic party, that it is of the first importance that labor should be made free, healthful, and secure of just remuneration; that convict labor should not come into competition with the industry of law-abiding citizens; that the labor of children should be surrounded with such safeguards as their health, their right of education, and their future as useful members of the community demand; that workshops, whether large or small, should be under such sanitary control as will insure the health and comfort of the employed, and will protect all against unwholesome labor and surroundings; that labor shall have the same right as capital to combine for its own protection; and that all legislation which cramps industry, or which enables the powerful to oppress the weak, should be repealed;

and, to promote the interests of labor, we recommend the collection of statistics and information respecting the improvements, the needs, and the abuses of the various branches of industry.

Thirteenth.—Whereas, The founders of the Democratic party inculcated a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles, the Democracy of New York again avow their fidelity to those tenets of economy, simplicity, and respect for the liberty of the individual which characterized the administration of government in the primitive days of the Republic.

To this platform was afterward added the following:

We also arraign the Republican party for its wholesale gift of the public lands to railroad jobbers, thus robbing the mass of the people of their rightful inheritance, and we demand that, so far as possible, these lands shall be reclaimed and reserved for occupation by active settlers; and we request the Democratic Representatives in Congress from the State of New York to use their power to secure this great blessing.

Then came the presentation of names to the convention. Some half-dozen men were put in nomination, and among them Grover Cleveland was nominated by Hon. D. N. Lockwood, of Buffalo.

In the next chapter we shall again hear from Mr. Lockwood in the Chicago Convention; I therefore give his Syracuse speech for the sake of comparison,

and still more for the sake of laying before the reader the estimate set on Mr. Cleveland at the opening of his national career. The reader cannot fail to be interested in reading the words of one who had known Mr. Cleveland for many years, and who had had superior advantages of studying his character and mind. I take the following account from the *Buffalo Courier* of September 23, 1872.

The name of Mr. Cleveland was presented by Hon. Daniel N. Lockwood in a most able manner. Mr. Lockwood spoke with deliberateness and regard for effect unusual to him, and his words rang through the house in a way that was telling, and there could be no mistaking his admiration of the man for whom he spoke, and his sincere desire to have the just claims of Western New York recognized by the convention.

He said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:—

I have the honor, as one of the representatives in this convention of the Democracy in the eighth judicial district of this State, to present for nomination for Governor the name of an honored citizen of Buffalo, the third city in commercial importance in the State.

His nomination is asked from this convention by a district greater in the extent of its territory than many of the States of the Union, and greater in the number of its population than Vermont, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Delaware, Colorado, and Florida; and I need scarcely re-

mind this convention that up to the present time the Democracy of this important section have never asked the people of the State to place one of their representatives in the executive chair of the State of New York.

I present the name of Hon. Grover Cleveland of Buffalo for the consideration of this convention, and with full confidence that his nomination will insure a glorious victory for the Democracy in November.

With Grover Cleveland as the standard bearer, the State will be redeemed to the Democracy. You will pardon me if I make a brief personal reference to the gentleman I have named.

Grover Cleveland is a self-made man. When he came to Buffalo some twenty-five years ago, he came with no other capital than his honesty, his integrity, his industry and his ability. Unaided he has advanced step by step until he has won an honorable place in the community in which he lives, and in the State of New York. He was first called to official position when about twenty-five years of age. He was appointed to the office of assistant district-attorney of the county, and discharged the duties of his office with great ability and fairness, and to the satisfaction of the whole people.

From this time until the fall of 1870 he continued in the practice of his profession, when at the earnest solicitation of his party he consented to the nomination for sheriff of Erie County.

He was elected, and his candidacy saved his party from defeat.

In his administration of the delicate duties of this office

he showed great executive and administrative ability; and when his term expired he sought again the profession of the law. His reputation as an able lawyer and advocate is second to none in Western New York.

Always honest and faithful to every interest committed to his care, he has the confidence and respect of all alike.

In the fall of 1881, Mr. Cleveland, much against his wishes, was nominated for the office of Mayor of Buffalo. Municipal extravagance was at its height. The best citizens begged him to accept the office for the public good. There was to him a great personal sacrifice involved, but he could not decline.

His party, his neighbors, and his friends demanded it, and from sheer sense of duty, and because, as he said when he accepted the nomination, he was a Democrat, he consented to be a candidate. He made no pledge, no promise; he simply said if elected he would give the citizens the best government he was capable of.

The people knew what that meant, and elected him by 5,000 majority; and from the day he entered upon the duties of his office, he constantly showed great capacity and executive ability.

The affairs of the city are administered on business principles; the taxpayers and the laborers are both protected, and all classes of his fellow-citizens respect him as a man and a public official.

In his hands the veto power is in truth and fact a shield of protection; and he has received, what he has well earned, the title of the Veto Mayor.

Such, in brief, is the official record of the candidate

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we present. It fully shows that he is a man of ability and integrity, and worthy of the confidence we ask you to repose in him.

If you place him in nomination you present to the people a man who can command not only the votes of his own party, but also a large proportion of the independent voters of the State. But one objection has been mentioned against the nomination of Mr. Cleveland, and that is that he is comparatively unknown outside of his county.

To this I have to say that he will soon be known, and the better he is known the wiser will seem the action of the convention which places him in nomination.

He certainly has no enemies, and he will command the vote of every Democrat in the State. He has always been a consistent Democrat. He was never engaged in any of the political differences which have so unfortunately divided the party. He is free from all complications and entangling alliances, and he has the manhood and the courage to defend the right and expose the wrong. We respectfully urge his nomination for other reasons. The delegates to this convention represent a constituency who demand at this time the nomination of a candidate who possesses all the qualities I have named, and in addition one who has no enemies in his own party. This convention will be held responsible by the people for their action to-day. The Democrats in every State in the Union are anxiously awaiting the action of this convention. They expect us to do our duty, and this can best be done by placing in nomination a man who, while able and honest, will unite the whole party.

Mr. Cleveland is not a professional politician. Office and honor have sought him, and if the people who sent delegates to this convention could speak, they would pronounce in favor of a man whose candidacy is sure to bring success to the party.

Mr. Cleveland has been educated in the best school of Democracy, has never sympathized with any of the factions in the party. He has always supported and advocated Democratic principles sincerely and faithfully; and I know of no better way of illustrating his character as a man and a Democrat than to say that he is to the young men of the State and party, what Horatio Seymour has always been in the past.

Mr. Cleveland's nomination was well received by all factions of his own party; and as the time of the election drew nearer it became constantly clearer that he would receive many votes from the Republicans. The Independents were attracted by Mr. Cleveland's previous record and furthermore by his Letter of Acceptance, which was in its tone moderate and non-partisan.

HIS LETTER ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION FOR GOVERNOR.

"BUFFALO, *Oct.* 7, 1882.

"*Hon. Thomas C. E. Ecclesine, Chairman, etc.*

"DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter informing me of my nomination for Gov-

ernor by the Democratic State Convention lately held at the city of Syracuse. I accept the nomination thus tendered to me, and trust that, while I am greatly sensible of the honor conferred, I am also properly impressed with the responsibilities which it invites.

"The platform of principles adopted by the convention meets with my hearty approval. The doctrines therein enunciated are so distinctly and explicitly stated that their amplification seems scarcely necessary. If elected to the office for which I have been nominated, I shall endeavor to impress them upon my administration, and make them the policy of the State.

"Our citizens, for the most part, attach themselves to one or the other of the great political parties; and, under ordinary circumstances, they support the nominees of the party to which they profess fealty. It is quite apparent that under such circumstances the primary election or caucus should be surrounded by such safeguards as will secure absolutely free and uncontrolled action. Here the people themselves are supposed to speak; here they put their own hands to the machinery of government, and in this place should be found the manifestation of the popular will. When by fraud, intimidation, or any other questionable practice, the voice of the people is here smothered, a direct blow is aimed at a most precious right, and one which the law should be swift to pro-

tect. If the primary election is uncontaminated and fairly conducted, those there chosen to represent the people will go forth with the impress of the people's will upon them, and the benefits and purposes of a truly representative government will be attained.

"Public officers are the servants and agents of the people to execute laws which the people have made, and within the limits of a constitution which they have established. Hence the interference of officials of any degree, and whether State or Federal, for the purpose of thwarting or controlling the popular wish, should not be tolerated.

"Subordinates in public places should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand here, as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold these public places would be much diminished, and, it seems to me, the cause of civil service reform materially aided.

"The system of levying assessments for partisan purposes on those holding office or place, cannot be

too strongly condemned. Through the thin disguise of voluntary contributions, this is seen to be naked extortion, reducing the compensation which should be honestly earned, and swelling a fund used to debauch the people and defeat the popular will.

"I am unalterably opposed to the interference by the Legislature with the government of municipalities. I believe in the intelligence of the people when left to an honest freedom in their choice, and that, when the citizens of any section of the State have determined upon the details of a local government, they should be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of the same. The doctrine of home rule, as I understand it, lies at the foundation of republican institutions, and cannot be too strongly insisted upon.

"Corporations are created by the law for certain defined purposes, and are restricted in their operations by specific limitations. Acting within their legitimate sphere, they should be protected; but when, by combination, or by the exercise of unwarranted power, they oppress the people, the same authority which created should restrain them, and protect the rights of the citizens. The law lately passed for the purpose of adjusting the relations between the people and corporations should be executed in good faith, with an honest design to effect its objects, and with a due regard for the interests involved.

"The laboring classes constitute the main part of

our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil, and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman.

"We have so lately had a demonstration of the value of our citizen soldiery in time of peril, that it seems to me no argument is necessary to prove that it should be maintained in a state of efficiency, so that its usefulness shall not be impaired.

"Certain amendments to the Constitution of our State, involving the management of our canals, are to be passed upon at the coming election. This subject affects diverse interests, and of course gives rise to opposite opinions. It is in the hands of the sovereign people for final settlement; and as the question is thus removed from State legislation, any statement of my opinion in regard to it at this time would, I think, be out of place. I am confident that the people will intelligently examine the merits of the subject, and determine where the preponderance of interest lies.

"The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls, or to secure legislation, is calculated to excite the gravest concern. When this pernicious agency is successfully employed, a representative form of government becomes a sham, and laws passed under its baleful

influences cease to protect, but are made the means by which the rights of the people are sacrificed and the public treasury despoiled. It is useless and foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us; and the party which leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support. It is wilful blindness not to see that the people care but little for party obligations, when they are invoked to countenance and sustain fraudulent and corrupt practices. And it is well for our country, and for the purification of politics, that the people, at times fully roused to danger, remind their leaders that party methods should be something more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation.

"The importance of wise statesmanship in the management of public affairs cannot, I think, be overestimated. I am convinced, however, that the perplexities and the mystery often surrounding the administration of State concerns grow, in a great measure, out of an attempt to serve partisan ends rather than the welfare of the citizen.

"We may, I think, reduce to quite simple elements the duty which the public servants owe, by constantly bearing in mind that they are put in place to protect the rights of the people, to answer their needs as they arise, and to expend for their benefit the money drawn from them by taxation.

"I am profoundly conscious that the management of the diverse interests of a great State is not an easy matter; but I believe, if undertaken in the proper spirit, all its real difficulties will yield to watchfulness and care.

"Yours respectfully,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

An attempt has been made to cause the public to believe that Mr. Cleveland received only the vote of his own party. "Compare his vote," say they, "with that received by General Hancock for President, and it will be seen that they are about the same."

But this attempt is not altogether fair and ingenuous, because it is well known from the records of many elections, that the vote in New York for President is about one hundred thousand heavier in either party than it is in the State elections. That the reader may make the examination for himself, and may form a correct estimate of Mr. Cleveland's popularity in New York, I give the following table of the vote cast in 1879, 1880 and 1882:

Counties.	Governor, 1882.		Governor, 1879.		President, 1880.	
	Cleveland. D.	Folger. R.	Robinson. D.	Cornell. R.	Hancock. D.	Garfield. R.
Albany	20,126	10,309	12,976	14,505	19,624	16,564
Allegany	3,779	3,718	2,710	5,679	3,482	6,827
Broome	5,060	4,955	4,777	6,020	5,450	7,173
Cattaraugus	5,279	4,681	2,972	5,851	5,466	7,403
Cayuga	5,859	4,406	3,946	7,316	5,976	9,372
Chautauqua	6,207	4,803	4,303	7,935	5,474	10,422
Chemung	5,336	3,079	3,547	3,481	4,806	4,636
Chenango	4,258	3,913	3,780	4,851	4,559	5,769
Clinton	3,560	4,318	3,672	4,663	4,250	6,080
Columbia	6,703	3,607	4,659	5,978	5,992	6,486
Cortland	3,011	2,996	2,238	3,351	2,749	4,124
Delaware	4,596	4,331	4,555	4,914	5,084	6,058
Dutchess	8,875	7,321	7,653	9,155	8,475	11,045
Erie	23,748	16,408	17,095	20,150	20,848	24,199
Essex	2,150	2,951	2,292	3,649	2,775	4,776
Franklin	2,294	3,074	2,263	3,676	2,799	4,185
Fulton and Hamilton	3,855	3,331	3,401	4,146	3,879	4,985
Genesee	3,518	2,898	2,722	3,735	3,481	4,815
Greene	4,481	2,808	4,015	2,957	4,405	3,879
Herkimer	5,131	3,701	4,349	5,206	5,070	6,331
Jefferson	7,190	4,483	6,703	7,959	7,216	9,439
Kings	65,636	26,148	44,388	32,816	61,062	51,751
Lewis	3,787	2,447	3,160	3,397	3,674	4,036
Livingston	3,966	3,650	3,604	4,700	4,242	5,522
Madison	4,328	3,512	3,634	5,397	4,683	6,793
Monroe	13,143	11,056	7,828	11,304	13,742	17,102
Montgomery	5,374	3,927	4,240	4,262	4,947	5,230
New York	124,914	47,785	60,556	46,322	123,015	81,730
Niagara	5,884	3,256	3,902	4,923	5,937	6,478
Oneida	13,673	8,741	10,861	11,712	12,600	14,546
Onondaga	11,563	11,629	7,742	12,542	11,732	16,153
Ontario	5,272	4,675	4,616	5,457	5,767	6,774
Orange	8,874	6,541	7,254	8,381	9,672	10,088
Orleans	3,119	2,549	1,667	3,445	3,104	4,581

Counties.	Governor, 1882.		Governor, 1879.		President, 1880.	
	Cleveland. D.	Folger. R.	Robinson. D.	Cornell. R.	Hancock. D.	Garfield. R.
Oswego	6,757	6,376	3,636	7,436	6,746	10,236
Otsego	6,848	4,730	6,297	6,237	7,184	7,156
Putnam	1,691	1,825	1,277	1,903	1,708	2,114
Queens	8,666	3,698	7,024	5,435	10,391	8,151
Rensselaer	13,714	10,468	11,075	10,547	13,031	13,672
Richmond	4,370	2,012	3,379	2,552	4,815	3,291
Rockland	2,771	1,473	2,565	2,267	3,415	2,688
St. Lawrence	5,220	9,304	5,032	11,378	5,835	13,748
Saratoga	6,277	6,185	4,891	6,727	5,808	8,116
Schenectady	2,836	2,604	2,598	2,533	2,628	3,250
Schoharie	4,924	2,076	4,756	3,045	5,262	3,646
Schuyler	2,155	2,151	1,678	2,406	2,293	2,790
Seneca	3,510	2,555	2,722	2,934	3,802	3,394
Steuben	8,997	6,577	6,673	8,465	8,992	10,245
Suffolk	5,287	3,815	5,125	5,155	6,061	6,515
Sullivan	3,451	2,266	2,799	2,554	3,718	3,339
Tioga	3,583	3,143	3,340	4,149	3,627	4,750
Tompkins	3,619	2,690	3,587	4,382	3,956	4,896
Ulster	8,470	6,140	7,163	7,847	9,870	9,994
Warren	2,677	2,560	2,621	2,639	2,618	3,330
Washington	4,190	5,929	3,174	6,697	4,145	7,779
Wayne	4,296	4,254	3,473	5,903	5,207	7,600
Westchester	11,478	6,005	8,459	8,778	11,858	11,367
Wyoming	2,909	2,120	2,494	3,821	3,309	4,695
Yates	2,073	2,501	1,844	2,919	2,197	3,432
	535,318	342,464	375,790	418,567	534,511	555,544
Majority	192,854			42,777		21,033

To the vote received by Governor Robinson in 1879 must be added seventy-five thousand received

by Mr. John Kelly; this will give the total Democratic vote for that year, which is eighty-five thousand smaller than that received by General Hancock. Mr. Cornell likewise received one hundred and thirty-seven thousand votes less than General Garfield. It is evident, therefore, that the Republicans did not censure the National Administration and the "machine politicians" by merely abstaining from voting, but from seventy-five to one hundred thousand of them went to the polls and cast their votes for Grover Cleveland and Reform. Such is the formidable growth to which the Independent party has attained in the State of New York, since in the campaign of 1879 it made its first protest against Republican mismanagement by casting 20,000 votes against Governor Cornell.

It is noticeable that in only eight counties in the whole State of New York did Judge Folger, a man not wanting in ability nor in good character, receive more votes than Mr. Cleveland. The latter has never been a candidate for any office, city, county or State, that he did not receive a much heavier vote than his party. He was elected Mayor in a Republican city, Sheriff in a Republican county, and Governor in a State Republican at the two preceding elections.

This vote was certainly flattering in its indications of the great confidence the people placed in Mr. Cleveland. At the same time it was well calculated

to increase his sense of responsibility on assuming such an office, because it clearly showed that high expectations had been formed as to what he would do.

On the day before his inauguration as Governor he came to Albany and spent the night at the Executive Mansion.

On the following day he walked through the throngs of people in the streets to the Capitol and entered the building unrecognized. As soon as the simple ceremony of inauguration was over, he entered the office of the Executive and went quietly to work. In this may be seen both his dislike of public ostentation and his simple, industrious habits.

As in treating of his services as Mayor, so here I shall endeavor to present an idea of his merits and characteristics as Governor through his own public papers.

From his first Annual Message, I make the following extracts, which give his ideas on several points of public policy.

STATE OF NEW YORK.

"EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.
"ALBANY, *January* 2, 1883.

"*To the Legislature:*

"In obedience to the provision of the Constitution which directs that the Governor shall communicate to the Legislature, at every session, the condition of the State, and recommend such matters to them as

he shall judge expedient, I transmit this, my first annual message, with the intimation that a newly elected Executive can hardly be prepared to present a complete exhibit of State affairs, or to submit in detail a great variety of recommendations for the action of the Legislature.

TAXATION.

"The imperfection of our laws touching the matter of taxation, or the faulty execution of existing statutes on the subject, is glaringly apparent.

"The power of the State to exact from the citizen a part of his earnings and income for the support of the Government, it is obvious should be exercised with absolute fairness and justice. When it is not so exercised, the people are oppressed. This furnishes the highest and the best reason why laws should be enacted and executed which will subject all property, as all alike need the protection of the State, to an equal share in the burdens of taxation, by means of which the Government is maintained. And yet it is notoriously true that personal property not less remunerative than land and real estate escapes to a very great extent the payment of its fair proportion of the expense incident to its protection and preservation under the law. The people should always be able to recognize, with the pride and satisfaction which are the strength of our insti-

tutions, in the conduct of the State, the source of undiscriminating justice, which can give no pretext for discontent.

PROTECTION TO THE PEOPLE.

"(1.) *As to Banks.*

"State supervision of banks is worse than useless unless it is thorough and effective. Under the law as it now stands, the Superintendent of the Banking Department must cause an examination to be made of these institutions only when, in his opinion, there is good reason to suspect an unsound condition, or false reports. It would seem that the solvency of the banks and the protection of depositors would be better assured, if one or more examinations in each year were made compulsory on the Department.

* * * * * *

"(2.) *As to Insurance.*

"I am informed that the expenses of maintaining this department for the year ending September 30, 1882, were at least $100,000, while recent investigations tend to convince the ordinary mind that this department, and the laws in relation to the subject of insurance, do not furnish the protection to the people which they ought. I suggest that steps be taken to make this department more useful and less expensive, and that the law touching the entire

question of insurance be reduced to a plain and simple enactment which shall be a safeguard against the abuses to which this important interest is now exposed.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

"The usefulness of such institutions depends very much on the confidence which the public have in their proper conduct, and it is abundantly demonstrated that the people are ready to believe, sometimes on very slight grounds, the gravest charges of mismanagement and inhuman treatment with reference to their superintendence. It is equally certain that if abuses in the care of the insane exist, there should be the least possible opportunity for their continuance without exposure. Frequent visitations and the most thorough examinations should be made either by local boards or by properly constituted State authorities, which the people would be sure were in no wise committed, except to the faithful discharge of their duties. By this means these institutions would be protected from unjust charges and suspicion, and the confidence of our citizens in their management be secured.

REFORM IN CIVIL SERVICE.

"It is submitted that the appointment of subordinates in the several State departments, and their tenure of office or employment should be based upon

fitness and efficiency, and that this principle should be embodied in legislative enactment, to the end that the policy of the State may conform to the reasonable public demand on that subject.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

"The formation and administration of the government of cities are subjects of much public interest, and of great importance to many of the inhabitants of the State. The formation of such governments is properly matter for most careful legislation.

"They should be so organized as to be simple in their details, and to cast upon the people affected thereby the full responsibility of their administration. The different departments should be in such accord as in their operation to lead towards the same results. Divided counsels, and divided responsibility to the people, on the part of municipal officers, it is believed, give rise to much that is objectionable in the government of cities. If, to remedy this evil, the chief executive should be made answerable to the people for the proper conduct of the city's affairs, it is quite clear that his power in the selection of those who manage its different departments should be greatly enlarged.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS.

"The protection of the people in their primaries

will, it is hoped, be secured by the early passage of a law for that purpose which will rid the present system of the evils which surround it, tending to defraud the people of rights closely connected with their privileges as citizens.

SPECIAL LEGISLATION.

"It is confidently expected that those who represent the people in the present Legislature will address themselves to the enactment of such laws as are for the benefit of all the citizens of the State, to the exclusion of special legislation and interference with affairs which should be managed by the localities to which they pertain.

"It is not only the right of the people to administer their local government, but it should be made their duty to do so. Any departure from this doctrine is an abandonment of the principles upon which our institutions are founded, and a concession of the infirmity and partial failure of the theory of a representative form of government.

"If the aid of the Legislature is invoked to further projects which should be subject to local control and management, suspicion should be at once aroused, and the interference sought should be promptly and sternly refused.

"If local rule is in any instance bad, weak, or inefficient, those who suffer from maladministration have

the remedy within their own control. If, through their neglect and inattention, it falls into unworthy hands, or if bad methods and practices gain a place in its administration, it is neither harsh nor unjust to remit those who are responsible for those conditions to their self-invited fate, until their interest, if no better motive, prompts them to an earnest and active discharge of the duties of good citizenship.

CONCLUSION.

"Let us enter upon the discharge of our duties, fully appreciating our relations to the people, and determined to serve them faithfully and well. This involves a jealous watch of the public funds, and a refusal to sanction their appropriation except for public needs. To this end all unnecessary offices should be abolished, and all employment of doubtful benefit discontinued. If to this we add the enactment of such wise and well-considered laws as will meet the varied wants of our fellow-citizens and increase their prosperity, we shall merit and receive the approval of those whose representatives we are, and with the consciousness of duty well performed, shall leave our impress for good on the legislation of the State.

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

With the above-cited passage from his annual

message on special legislation, should be compared the following on the same subject. These principles apply equally well to the legislation of other States. In vetoing a bill relating to the village of Lyons he says:

"There are other sections of this charter which might be criticised, to which I will not refer. It is quite apparent that something should be done to prevent the introduction or, at any rate, the passage of such bills as this. They seem often to be prepared without any care, or without any appreciation of the evils to be remedied, or the manner of accomplishing improvements. Once here, they attract but little attention, because they are supposed to be of no importance to the Legislature, being local in their nature. And then they are good-naturedly allowed to pass and to reach the Executive, a mass of impracticable inconsistencies and incongruous and useless crudities, which, if allowed to go upon our statute books, would be a disgrace to the State and the law-making power."

In his veto of a bill to amend the charter of the city of Buffalo he makes the following statement on

PARTISAN LEGISLATION:

"The purpose of the bill is too apparent to be mistaken. A tried, economical and efficient admin-

istration of an important department in a large city is to be destroyed, upon partisan grounds or to satisfy personal animosities, in order that the places and patronage attached thereto may be used for party advancement.

"I believe in an open and sturdy partisanship, which secures the legitimate advantages of party supremacy; but parties were made for the people, and I am unwilling, knowingly, to give my assent to measures purely partisan, which will sacrifice or endanger their interests."

But of the Governor's official acts of this year the one that has called forth the most discussion, and produced the greatest opposition, is his veto of the bill reducing the fares on the elevated railroads in New York city.

I have not space for the bill itself, but its contents are clearly enough set forth in the Governor's veto.

The readers of this book beyond the limits of the State of New York, and perhaps beyond the limits of New York city, will be astonished that this veto did not redound to Governor Cleveland's fame rather than the contrary; such readers, having no pecuniary interest in the question, may feel disposed to dismiss it without further attention; but even they will not regret it if they give the message a careful reading. Even if it had excited no opposition it would be well worth including in this book for its clear state-

ment of the principles that ought to guide legislation.

VETO, ASSEMBLY BILL NO 58, TO REGULATE FARES ON ELEVATED RAILROADS IN NEW YORK CITY.

"STATE OF NEW YORK,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
"ALBANY, *March* 2, 1883.

"*To the Assembly:*

"Assembly bill No. 58, entitled 'An act to regulate the fare to be charged and collected by persons or corporations operating elevated railroads in the city of New York,' is herewith returned without approval.

"This bill prohibits the collection or receipt of more than five cents fare on any elevated railroad in the city of New York, for any distance between the Battery and Harlem River, and provides that if any person or corporation operating such elevated railroads shall charge, demand, collect or receive any higher rate of fare, such person or corporation shall, in addition to all other penalties imposed by law, forfeit and pay to any person aggrieved fifty dollars for each offence, to be recovered by such person in any court of competent jurisdiction.

"The importance of this measure, and the interest which it has excited, has impressed me with my responsibility, and led me to examine, with as much care as has been possible, the considerations involved. '

"I am convinced that in all cases the share which falls upon the Executive regarding the legislation of the State should be in no manner evaded, but fairly met by the expression of his carefully guarded and unbiased judgment. In his conclusion he may err, but if he has fairly and honestly acted, he has performed his duty and given to the people of the State his best endeavor.

"The elevated railroads in the city of New York are now operated by the Manhattan Railway Company, as the lessee of the New York Elevated Railway Company and the Metropolitan Elevated Railway Company.

"Of course whatever rights the lessee companies have in relation to the running and operation of their respective roads passed to the Manhattan Company under its lease.

"The New York Elevated Railway Company is the successor of the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company.

"The latter company was formed under and in pursuance of an act passed on the 20th day of April, 1866.

"The third section of that act provides that companies formed under its provisions 'may fix and collect rates of fare on their respective roads, not exceeding five cents for each mile or any fraction of a mile for each passenger, and with a right to a minimum fare of ten cents.'

"On the 22d day of April, 1867, an act was passed

in relation to this corporation, which provides for the manner of constructing its road, the eighth section of which act reads as follows:

"'The said company shall be authorized to demand and receive from each passenger within the limits of the city of New York rates of fare not exceeding, for any distance less than two miles, five cents; for every mile or fractional part of a mile in addition thereto, one cent. Provided that when said railway is completed and in operation between Battery Place and the vicinity of Harlem River, the said company may, at its option, adopt a uniform rate not exeeeding ten cents for all distances upon Manhattan Island, and may also collect said last-named rate for a period of five years from and after the passage of this act.'

"It was further provided by section nine of this act that the said company should pay a sum not exceeding five per cent. of the net income of said railway from passenger traffic upon Manhattan Island, into the treasury of the city of New York, in such manner as the Legislature might thereafter direct, as a compensation for the use of the streets of the city.

"In 1868 a law was passed supplementary to the act last referred to, by which the said company was authorized to adopt such form of motor as certain commissioners should, after due experiment, recommend or approve.

"Specific provision was made in the act to carry out section 9 of the law of 1867, in relation to the payment of the five per cent. of the net income of the company into the treasury of the city.

"Section 3 of this act contains the following provision:

"'It shall be the duty of the constructing company aforesaid, before opening its railway to public use, to file with the Comptroller of the city of New York, in form to be approved by the mayor of the city of New York, its bond in the penal sum of $100,000, conditioned upon the true and faithful payment of the revenue in amount and manner specified in the preceding section, and the payment thereof shall be the legal compensation in full for the use and occupancy of the streets by said railway as provided by law, and shall constitute an agreement in the nature of a contract between said city and Constructing Company entitling the latter or its successors to the privileges and rates of fare heretofore or herein legalized, which shall not be changed without the mutual consent of the parties thereto as aforesaid; and the mayor on behalf of said city may, in case of default in payments as aforesaid, sue for and collect at law any arrearages in such payment, and the claims of the city therefor shall constitute a lien on the railway of said company, having priority over all others.'

"The use of what are called dummy engines was

afterward authorized in the operation of said road by the commissioners above referred to.

"The New York Elevated Railroad Company was organized under the general railroad law passed in 1850, and the laws amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto.

"Within a short time thereafter the last-named company became the purchaser under a foreclosure, and by other transfers, of the railway and all the rights, privileges, easements and franchises of the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company (the name of which had in the meantime been changed to the West Side Elevated Patented Railway Company of New York City).

"We have now reached a point where the New York Elevated Railway Company, one of the lessors of the Manhattan Railroad Company, has succeeded to all the rights and property of the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company.

"By a law passed on the 17th day of June, 1875 (the railway still being unfinished), it is declared that the New York Elevated Railroad Company, having acquired by purchase under mortgage foreclosure and sale and other transfer, all the rights, powers, privileges, and franchises, which were conferred upon the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company by the acts above referred to, is 'hereby confirmed in the possession and enjoyments of the said rights, powers, privileges, and franchises, as fully

and at large as they were so granted in and by the acts aforesaid to the said West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company.'

"The Court of Appeals, speaking of this law, uses the following language:

"'The effect of this act was to secure to the Elevated Railroad Company all the rights, privileges and franchises of the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company under the purchase by and transfer to it.'

"By the sixth section of this act, it is provided that the New York Elevated Railroad Company might demand and receive from each passenger on its railroad, not exceeding ten cents for any distance of five miles or less, and with the assent required by section 3 of the act of 1868, hereinbefore referred to, not exceeding two cents for each additional mile or fractional part thereof.

'Another act was passed in 1875, commonly called the Rapid Transit Act, which provided for the appointment of commissioners, who, among other things, were authorized to fix and determine the time within which roads subject to the provisions of the act should be completed, together with the maximum rates to be paid for transportation and conveyance over said railways, and the hours during which special cars should be run at reduced rates of fare.

"Commissioners were duly appointed by the mayor, of the city of New York, as provided by this act, who fixed and determined the route of the road of the New York Elevated Railroad Company, and prescribed with the utmost particularity the manner of its construction, and thereupon deliberately agreed with said company that it should charge as fare upon trains and cars other than what were called by the parties commission trains and cars, for all distances under five miles not to exceed ten cents, and not to exceed two cents for each mile or fraction of a mile over five miles, until the fare should amount to not exceeding fifteen cents for a through passenger from and between the Battery and intersection of Third Avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-ninth Street, and from and between the Battery and High Bridge, not to exceed seventeen cents for a through passenger, and that for the entire distance from and between the Battery and Fifty-ninth Street the fare should not exceed ten cents per passenger.

"It was further agreed between the said company and the commissioners that commission trains should be run during certain hours in the morning and evening for the accommodation of the public and the laboring classes, upon which the fare should not exceed five cents from and between the Battery and Fifty-ninth Street, nor any greater sum for any distance not exceeding five miles; that it should not exceed

seven cents for a through passenger from and between the Battery, or any point south thereof, and the Harlem River, and that such fare should not exceed eight cents on such commission cars and trains from and between the Battery and High Bridge.

"And it was further agreed by said company that when the net income of the road, after all expenditures, taxes and charges are paid, should amount to a sum sufficient to pay exceeding ten per cent. per annum on the capital stock of the company, that in such case and within six months thereafter, and so long as said net earnings amount to a sum sufficient to pay more than ten per cent. as aforesaid, the said company would run commission trains on its road at all hours during which it should be operated, at the rates of fare last mentioned.

"Having thus completed an agreement with this company, the commissioners transmitted the same to the mayor of the city of New York, accompanied by a very congratulatory report of their proceedings, whereupon the mayor submitted the same to the Board of Aldermen, by whom it was approved. This was in the latter part of 1875.

"Since that time the New York Elevated Railroad Company, upon the faith of the laws which have been recited, and its proceedings with the commissioners, at a very large expense, has completed its road from the Battery to Harlem River, a distance of about ten miles.

"The bill before me provides that notwithstanding all the statutes that have been passed and all that has been done thereunder, passengers shall be carried the whole length of this road for five cents, a sum much less than is provided for in any of such statutes or stipulated in the proceedings of the commissioners.

"I am of the opinion that in the legislation and proceedings which I have detailed, and in the fact that pursuant thereto the road of the company was constructed and finished, there exists a contract in favor of this company, which is protected by that clause of the Constitution of the United States which prohibits the passage of a law by any State impairing the obligation of contracts.

"But let it be supposed that this is not so, and that neither of these lessor companies are in any way protected from interference with their rates of fare, but that, on the contrary, they are subject to all the provisions of the general railroad act, under which they are both organized.

"Section thirty-three of that act reads as follows:

"'The Legislature may, when any such railroad shall be opened for use, from time to time alter or reduce the rate of freight, fare or other profits upon said road; but the same shall not, without the consent of the company, be so reduced as to produce with said profits less than ten per centum per annum on the capital actually expended; nor unless on an ex-

amination of the amount received or expended, to be made by the State Engineer and Surveyor and the Comptroller, they shall ascertain that the net income derived by the company from all sources, for the year then last past shall have exceeded an annual income of ten per cent. upon the capital of the corporation actually expended.'

"Even if the State has the power to reduce the fare on these roads, it has promised not to do so except under certain circumstances and after a certain examination.

"I am not satisfied that these circumstances exist, and it is conceded that no such examination has been made.

"The constitutional objections which I have suggested to the bill under consideration are not, I think, removed by the claim that the proposed legislation is in the nature of an alteration of the charters of these companies, and that this is permitted by the State Constitution and by the provisions of some of the laws to which I have referred.

"I suppose that while the charters of corporations may be altered or repealed, it must be done in subordination to the Constitution of the United States, which is the supreme law of the land. This leads to the conclusion that the alteration of a charter cannot be made the pretext for the passage of a law which impairs the obligation of a contract.

"If I am mistaken in supposing that there are legal

objections to this bill, there is another consideration which furnishes to my mind a sufficient reason why I should not give it my approval.

"It seems to me that to arbitrarily reduce these fares, at this time and under existing circumstances, involves a breach of faith on the part of the State, and a betrayal of confidence which the State has invited.

"The fact is notorious that for many years rapid transit was the great need of the inhabitants of the city of New York, and was of direct importance to the citizens of the State. Projects which promised to answer the people's wants in this direction failed and were abandoned. The Legislature, appreciating the situation, willingly passed statute after statute calculated to aid and encourage a solution of the problem. Capital was timid, and hesitated to enter a new field full of risks and dangers. By the promise of liberal fares, as will be seen in all the acts passed on the subject, and through other concessions gladly made, capitalists were induced to invest their money in the enterprise, and rapid transit but lately became an accomplished fact. But much of the risk, expense and burden attending the maintenance of these roads are yet unknown and threatening. In the meantime, the people of the city of New York are receiving the full benefit of their construction, a great enhancement of the value of the taxable property of the city has resulted, and in ad-

dition to taxes, more than $120,000, being five per cent. in increase, pursuant to the law of 1868, has been paid by the companies into the city treasury, on the faith that the rate of fare agreed upon was secured to them. I am not aware that the corporations have, by any default, forfeited any of their rights; and if they have, the remedy is at hand under existing laws. Their stock and their bonds are held by a large number of citizens, and the income of these roads depends entirely upon fares received from passengers. The reduction proposed is a large one, and it is claimed will permit no dividends to investors. This may not be true, but we should be satisfied it is not, before the proposed law takes effect.

"It is manifestly important that invested capital should be protected, and that its necessity and usefulness in the development of enterprises valuable to the people should be recognized by conservative conduct on the part of the State government.

"But we have especially in our keeping the honor and good faith of a great State, and we should see to it that no suspicion attaches, through an act of ours, to the fair fame of the Commonwealth. The State should not only be strictly just, but scrupulously fair, and in its relations to the citizen every legal and moral obligation should be recognized. This only can be done by legislating without vindictiveness or prejudice, and with a firm determination

to deal justly and fairly with those from whom we exact obedience.

"I am not unmindful of the fact that this bill originated in response to the demand of a large portion of the people of New York for cheaper rates of fare between their places of employment and their homes, and I realize fully the desirability of securing to them all the privileges possible, but the experience of other States teaches that we must keep within the limits of law and good faith, lest in the end we bring upon the very people whom we seek to benefit and protect, a hardship which must surely follow when these limits are ignored.

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

When the question of cheaper fares on the elevated railroads once arose, it was but natural that a strong popular movement would be at once aroused in favor of it.

These roads bear many external marks of great prosperity; the people feel that their rights have often been neglected by railroads, and rich corporations. There undoubtedly exists a strong public feeling of hostility to monopolies and monopolists, and to a certain extent against capital itself. This hostility is founded partly on reasonable grounds, and partly on ignorant prejudice. It is of the utmost importance to the public welfare, of the poor as well as of the rich, that all legislation in regard to

corporations and to capital should be guided by principles of justice.

The laboring people commit a fatal blunder when they think capital can be injured without injuring themselves. Their interests are firmly bound up with those of capital; in properly protecting capital they protect themselves.

When public attention was once awakened, and the expectation of cheap fares became so general, it was natural that the people would, to some extent, be unconsciously influenced in their judgments by pecuniary motives, and when the veto was published bitter disappointment naturally followed. Hence the hostility to the veto.

It was likewise natural that this hostility would be extended to the Governor himself, at least temporarily.

And in our present condition it was equally natural that Governor Cleveland's political enemies—of private enemies he has none—would make use of this veto and this occasion to excite opposition to him, and finally to spread the story that he was a friend of monopolies, a friend of rich corporations, an enemy of the laboring man, and so forth.

Mobilitate viget, viresque adquirit eundo.

Political agitators were not slow in ringing the changes on these phrases, and in wilfully misrepre-

senting the matter. Many workingmen in New York have thereby been honestly deceived and duped; but I should momentarily feel inclined to despair of human nature, at any rate of the judgment of the workingmen, if I did not feel entire confidence that they would take a correct view of the matter and approve the Governor's actions when the matter is clearly laid before them.

The proper answer to the misrepresentations that have been diligently circulated is the veto itself. The workingmen have doubtless in many cases drawn their conclusions from hearsay, and from meagre newspaper articles. Let them read the veto, and ponder what the Governor says.

In the end it will clearly appear that Governor Cleveland has done few things during his public career that are so much to his honor as this very veto. It is precisely in questions of this kind, where a strong popular interest has been excited, that an Executive can best show his strength of character, his firmness, and his independence. Several such emergencies have arisen in Governor Cleveland's life, and in no case so far has he been unequal to them. For this he will be honored, and that regardless of the result of the approaching Presidential election.

Let those who have formed the opinion that Governor Cleveland is unduly favorable to rich corporations compare the foregoing statements with the following.

April 2, 1883, in vetoing a bill regarding gas-light companies, he says:

"Another fatal objection to this bill is found in the provision allowing the corporations therein named to enter upon private property, and erect and maintain their structures thereon, without the consent of the owner. It seems to me that this is taking private property, or an easement therein, with very little pretext that it is for a public use.

"If a private corporation can, under authority of law, construct its appliances and structures upon the lands of the citizen without his consent, not only for the purpose of furnishing light, but in an experimental attempt to transmit heat and power, the rights of the people may well be regarded as in danger from an undue license to corporate aggrandizement."

And again, in speaking of a bill relating to street railroads, May 29, 1883, he says:

"In any event, if it is proposed to act under the Constitution, there should honestly and fairly be accorded to the people the protection which the Constitution intended.

"I think no one can read the peculiar provisions of this bill without being convinced that its design is more to further private and corporate schemes than to furnish the citizens of the State street railroad facilities under the spirit and letter of the Constitu-

tion and within the limits therein fixed for the benefit of the people."

In his Annual Message of 1884 he gives at greater length his views in regard to corporations:

"The action of the Board in requiring the filing of quarterly reports by the railroad companies, exhibiting their financial condition, is a most important step in advance, and should be abundantly sustained. It would, in my opinion, be a most valuable protection to the people if other large corporations were obliged to report to some department their transactions and financial condition.

"The State creates these corporations upon the theory that some proper thing of benefit can be better done by them than by private enterprise, and that the aggregation of the funds of many individuals may be thus profitably employed. They are launched upon the public with the seal of the State, in some sense, upon them. They are permitted to represent the advantages they possess and the wealth sure to follow from admission to membership. In one hand is held a charter from the State, and in the other is proffered their stock.

"It is a fact, singular though well established, that people will pay their money for stock in a corporation engaged in enterprises in which they would refuse to invest if in private hands.

"It is a grave question whether the formation of

these artificial bodies ought not to be checked, or better regulated and in some way supervised.

"At any rate they should always be kept well in hand, and the funds of its citizens should be protected by the State which has invited their investment. While the stockholders are the owners of the corporate property, notoriously they are oftentimes completely in the power of the directors and managers, who acquire a majority of the stock and by this means perpetuate their control, using the corporate property and franchises for their benefit and profit, regardless of the interests and rights of the minority of stockholders. Immense salaries are paid to officers; transactions are consummated by which the directors make money, while the rank and file among the stockholders lose it; the honest investor waits for dividends, and the directors grow rich. It is suspected, too, that large sums are spent under various disguises in efforts to influence legislation.

"It is not consistent to claim that the citizen must protect himself by refusing to purchase stock. The law constantly recognizes the fact that people should be defended from false representations and from their own folly and cupidity. It punishes obtaining goods by false pretences, gambling and lotteries.

"It is a hollow mockery to direct the owner of a small amount of stock in one of these institutions to

the courts. Under existing statutes, the law's delay, perplexity and uncertainty lead but to despair.

"The State should either refuse to allow these corporations to exist under its authority and patronage, or, acknowledging their paternity and its responsibility, should provide a simple, easy way for its people whose money is invested, and the public generally, to discover how the funds of these institutions are spent, and how their affairs are conducted. It should at the same time provide a way by which the squandering or misuse of corporate funds would be made good to the parties injured thereby.

"This might well be accomplished by requiring corporations to frequently file reports made out with the utmost detail, and which would not allow lobby expenses to be hidden under the pretext of legal services and counsel fees, accompanied by vouchers and sworn to by the officers making them, showing particularly the debts, liabilities, expenditures and property of the corporation. Let this report be delivered to some appropriate department or officer, who shall audit and examine the same; provide that a false oath to such account shall be perjury, and make the directors liable to refund to the injured stockholders any expenditure which shall be determined improper by the auditing authority.

"Such requirements might not be favorable to stock speculation, but they would protect the innocent investors; they might make the management of

corporations more troublesome, but this ought not to be considered when the protection of the people is the matter in hand. It would prevent corporate efforts to influence legislation; the honestly conducted and strong corporations would have nothing to fear; the badly managed and weak ought to be exposed."

I feel confident that the reader who duly considers these statements and compares them with what is known of Governor Cleveland's character, his truthfulness, and his total freedom from the tricks of the demagogue, will be ready to confess that the idea that Governor Cleveland improperly protects corporations, and is hostile in any sense whatever to the interest and welfare of the laboring class, is not only erroneous and false, but is in the highest degree absurd.

On the contrary, he has shown in his entire public career, as well as in his private life, a profound regard for the welfare of the people of all classes, and a close attention to economy in the use of their money; the foregoing messages, both as Mayor and Governor, abound in proof of this.

In addition to all this, it is a well-known fact that the very men in New York who in the public mind are most fully identified with monopolies are opposed to Mr. Cleveland's election as President.

The reader will see from the veto that Governor

Cleveland based his action both on constitutional grounds and on those of public policy and justice; that he was standing on a firm basis in the latter respect was further shown from the numerous letters he received from prominent men of both political parties approving his action. Of these I give the following from Rev. Dr. Martin B. Anderson, President of Rochester University:

ROCHESTER, *March* 4, 1883.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND—SIR: I cannot, in justice to my convictions, refrain from expressing my gratitude for your veto message, which I have just read. I have no personal interest in any of the great corporations which were directly or indirectly affected by the bill from which you have so wisely withheld your approval. But the just and statesmanlike position taken in your message seems to me a most fitting rebuke to the demagogism which is ready to trifle with those sacred rights of property guaranteed by our State and National constitutions. In these safeguards of property the poor man has a more vital interest than the capitalist, for they make secure the poor man's savings, which constitute his only means of support. I have taken occasion to commend your message to the careful consideration of my students as an exhibition of the principles which should govern their actions should they be called to fill public station in their future lives. I trust you will pardon me for obtruding myself upon your attention. As a teacher of young men, I feel grateful to any public functionary who illustrates in his person the

lessons which I am so anxious to impress upon their minds. Again I thank you for the courageous and worthy action which you have adopted to secure sound government for our great State.

Yours very respectfully,

MARTIN B. ANDERSON.

A strong proof that the adverse criticism excited by this veto did not so much reflect the opinion of the New York workingmen as of Governor Cleveland's political enemies, is the fact that by existing regulations these elevated railroads do already carry the workingmen and all passengers for five cents per trip during those hours (5.30 to 8.30 A.M., and from 4.30 to 7.30 P.M.) in the morning and evening when the workingmen use these trains in going to and coming from their work. Very few working men need the elevated roads between the hours of 8.30 A. M. and 4.30 P.M.

Workingmen and all men should honor and respect Governor Cleveland for his firmness and uprightness in doing what he thought was right, at a time when his action was sure to awaken prejudices and popular opposition.

THE CONDUCTORS' AND DRIVERS' BILL.

There is another veto of Governor Cleveland's which has been misrepresented in the same manner

with the same end in view—namely, to excite opposition to him among the laboring class. I speak of his veto of the Street-car Conductors' and Drivers' bill. About the first of February, 1884, there was introduced in the Assembly and passed the following bill:

SECTION 1. On and after the passage of this act it shall be unlawful for any officer or agent of any railroad corporation in any of the cities of this State, whose cars are drawn by horses, TO EXACT from conductors or drivers employed by them more than twelve hours' labor, for a day's work, and such corporations shall, out of said twelve hours' labor, allow such conductors and drivers a reasonable time to obtain meals.

§ 2. Any officer or agent of any such corporation who shall violate or otherwise evade the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not to exceed three hundred dollars or imprisonment not to exceed six months, or both fine and imprisonment for each offence.

§ 3. This act shall take effect immediately.

This bill was sent to the Senate and there delayed till the very close of the session, when it was finally passed by a very small majority.

It reached the Governor after the Legislature had adjourned, and consequently too late for amendment. Governor Cleveland considered the bill so indefinite and so defectively worded that he vetoed

it. It is highly probable that under the bill, if he had signed it, the persons intended to be benefited by it would have been injured. Because these men are paid, as a rule, not by the day but by the *trip;* now there was nothing in the bill to prevent persons from forming an agreement with the car companies to work more than twelve hours per day; but if the companies through fear of litigation had refused to make such an agreement, and had felt themselves limited to twelve hours by the terms of the bill, they would without any doubt have decreased the wages of the conductors and drivers. But these employees prefer to work fourteen hours per day for the wages they now receive, than twelve hours for less wages. Accordingly their condition is probably better under the existing laws than it would be if he had signed the above bill. These questions of wages are settled by supply and demand, and not by legislative attempts to regulate the length of a day's work or the amount that shall be paid for it.

But as to the question of Governor Cleveland's motives in vetoing this bill, we must interpret them by a reference to his other public acts. Hitherto I think there has no case been produced in which he seemed to act from selfishness or from ambitious schemes. On the contrary his acts uniformly and completely show that his intentions, as well as his professions, have been to benefit the people.

Governor Cleveland's relations to those bills in

which the workingmen seem to have been especially interested are well summed up in the following letter from Mr. Thayer, the President of the State Trades Assembly, and an active friend of the workingmen:

TROY, *July* 2, 1884.

To the Argus:

I have been informed that a statement has been published to the effect that while in Chicago at the recent national Democratic convention I stated that I could pledge the vote of the workingmen, of this and other localities, to Governor Cleveland. I wish to state that no such expression ever fell from my lips, and that no interview with me was ever published in which I made such a statement. On the contrary, I stated that *no man* could pledge the vote of the labor element of New York State, or of any portion of it, *to any candidate*, nor did any man have sufficient influence to cause it to be cast against any candidate. I stated that if any man pretended to pledge the workingmen's vote to any candidate he did so without any authority. I stated that I had no authority to speak for them on political questions, nor had any one else. I was asked what my *personal* preferences were, and I said that I preferred Governor Cleveland. When asked my reasons, I expressed them as follows: The workingmen's assembly of this State has, since I have been at the head of that organization, succeeded in passing through the Legislature the following bills: Abolishing the manufacture of hats in State prisons, creating a bureau of labor statistics, the tenement house cigar bill (*twice*), the abolition of

convict contract labor, the lien law, and the conductors' and drivers' bill—seven in all. Of these measures Governor Cleveland signed *five* and vetoed two, viz., the lien law, and the conductors' and drivers' bill. As to the lien law, it is generally acknowledged now that he did us a kindness in vetoing that bill, because, through errors of our own in drafting the measure, the bill as passed would have been a positive injury to us. The conductors' and drivers' bill, I think he should have signed. So the record shows that we have sent to Governor Cleveland six perfect bills and he has signed *five* and vetoed *one*. On this record I am not prepared to condemn him. If the Governor does us five favors and commits but one error, I feel that he is entitled to my support. In addition to the labor measures prepared by our organization, Governor Cleveland has signed a bill introduced by Senator Fassett, which makes workingmen preferred creditors in case of assignment or failure of the firm or corporation by which they are employed. Recognizing the justness of the measure and its great benefits to the working class, I asked Governor Cleveland to sign it, and he did so without hesitation. So, to sum the matter up, he has approved of six bills favorable to our interests and disapproved of one. By his record on legitimate labor measures I judge him, and on the strength of that record I shall support him. I do not wish it understood that I am voicing the sentiments or preferences of any one but myself. I have no authority to speak for the workingmen on political subjects.

Yours truly,

WALTER N. THAYER.

In the preceding pages I have given a sketch of Governor Cleveland's action in reference to those bills touching the workingmen that excited considerable discussion in the years 1883 and 1884. To some extent, therefore, I have anticipated his Annual Message of 1884, some recommendations from which I now give.

"STATE OF NEW YORK,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
ALBANY, *January* 1, 1884.

"*To the Legislature:*

"In transmitting a statement of the condition of the State, and recommending such matters for legislative action as are deemed expedient, I believe it to be entirely proper, at the outset, to direct attention to the fact that the growth and progress of the State in every direction, and the needs of the people, call for patient and intelligent action on the part of their representatives in the Legislature. Every one who has assumed any share of responsibility in this branch of the government should enter upon the discharge of his duties, fully appreciating his trust, and with an unwavering determination to faithfully serve the State.

"It is suggested that frequent and unnecessary recesses, taken during the session of the Legislature, not only result in a great waste of time, but, by interruption of thought and effort, tend to loose, careless and ill-advised legislative action.

"Another evil which has a most pernicious influence on legislation, is the introduction and consideration of bills purely local in their character, affecting only special interests, and which ought not upon any pretext to be permitted to incumber the statutes of the State. Every consideration of expediency, as well as the language and evident intent of the Constitution, dictate the exclusion of such matters from legislative consideration. The powers of Boards of Supervisors and other local authorities have been enlarged, for the express purpose of permitting them to deal intelligently and properly with such subjects. But, notwithstanding this, bills are introduced authorizing the building and repairing of bridges and highways, the erection of engine houses and soldiers' monuments, the establishment of libraries, the regulation or purchase of cemeteries, and other things of a like nature. In many cases no better excuse exists for the presentation of such bills than the dignity and force which is supposed to be gained for their objects by legal enactment, the saving of expense and trouble to those interested in their purposes, and the local notoriety and popularity sought by the legislators having them in charge. Their consideration retards the business of the session and occupies time which should be devoted to better purposes. And this is not the worst result that may follow in their train. Such measures, there is ground to suspect, are frequently made the

means of securing, by a promise of aid in their passage, the votes of those who introduce them, in favor of other and more vicious legislation.

"The crowding of a large amount of business into the closing hours of the session gives opportunity in the haste and confusion which ensue, for the passage of bad and improvident laws, perhaps to the exclusion of measures of importance and value.

"The postponement of legislation until the last of the session also results in leaving a large number of bills in the hands of the Governor at the time of final adjournment. By the terms of the Constitution, such bills cannot become laws unless they are approved by the Executive within thirty days after the adjournment; there is no opportunity for the Legislature to review the disapproval of the Governor, and he has the absolute power to determine which shall become laws and which shall fail. This arbitrary executive control of legislation should be guarded against by submitting the same to the Governor, as far as possible, in time to permit the Legislature to review his action thereon if unfavorable.

TAXATION.

"The subject of taxation still remains a vexed question; and the injustice and discrimination apparent in our laws on this subject, as well as the methods

of their execution, call loudly for relief. There is no object so worthy of the care and attention of the Legislature as this. Strict economy in the management of State affairs, by their agents, should furnish the people a good government at the least possible cost. This is common honesty. But to see to it that this cost is fairly and justly distributed, and the burden equally borne by those who have no peaceful redress if the State is unjust, is the best attribute of sovereignty and the highest duty to the citizen. The recognition of this duty characterizes a beneficent government; but its repudiation marks the oppression of tyrannical power, The tax-payer need not wait till his burden is greater than he can bear for just cause of complaint. However small his tax, he may reasonably protest, if it represents more than his share of the public burden and the State neglects all effort to apply a remedy.

* * * * * * *

"The object is to preserve the honor of the State in its dealings with the citizen, to prevent the rich, by shirking taxation, from adding to the burdens of the poor, and to relieve the landholder from unjust discrimination. The spirit of our institutions dictates that this endeavor should be pursued, in a manner free from all demagogism, but with the determination to use every necessary means to accomplish the result.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

"I cannot but believe that much that is defective and expensive in the present management of these institutions is attributable to divided responsibility and consequent loose and unbusiness-like methods. I fear that too much of the time of superintendents, which should be devoted to the actual care and watch of those put in their charge, is spent in other occupations, which, though not necessarily foreign to the interests of the institutions, should not be included among their duties.

"At every session of the Legislature, not only the superintendent, but delegations from the local boards of managers, appear before the committees having the subject of appropriations in charge, asking for money to maintain their institutions, which, if needed, they should receive without importunity. Appropriations are made for all manner of enlargements, repairs, alterations and improvements, many of which are disapproved after executive examination, which is unavoidably imperfect and may lead to injustice.

"A suspicion may well be entertained that in the localities where these institutions are situate the privilege of furnishing the supplies and materials is granted from motives of friendliness or a desire to patronize home trade, resulting in bargains disadvantageous to the institutions and the State.

"In seeking to better the condition of affairs, we

cannot fail to be reminded of the experience of the State in relation to prison management. During the year ending the 30th day of September, 1876, there was paid from the Treasury for the maintenance of these institutions, above their earnings, the sum of $704,379.85. By an amendment to the Constitution adopted in November of that year the superintendence, management and control of the State prisons were vested in a superintendent, who entered upon the discharge of his duties in February, 1877. On the 30th day of September following, or in less than nine months, under the new management the deficiency of expenditure was reduced to $369,688.08. This deficiency steadily decreased until the 30th of September, 1881, when a surplus of $564.35 was reported, which has annually increased until at the close of the last year it reached $9,106.23.

"There seems to be no good reason why similarly favorable results cannot be obtained by the application of a like system to the control and management of the business affairs of our charitable institutions. It accords with the plan adopted where large private interests are involved; it has the advantage of concentrated responsibility; the Legislature and the Executive should, under such a system, be satisfactorily informed of the actual needs of the different institutions and the necessary appropriations should be cheerfully made; the time of

the superintendents could be devoted to their legitimate and proper duties; the detection and prevention of abuses and neglect could be reasonably exacted; a very large saving should be effected in the wholesale purchase of supplies of uniform grade, for all the institutions, and the advantages consequent upon a correct application of business methods would be secured to the people of the State.

"The change suggested contemplates the employment of a fit person vested with the supervision and control of these institutions, to whom a fair salary should be paid, and who should have no other business. He should absolutely be required to devote all his time to the performance of his duties.

"The attention of the Legislature is earnestly called to this subject, in the hope that a better system may be adopted, with such careful consideration of detail and the necessary change in present laws as will secure the inauguration of a plan which shall be simple, efficient and well perfected.

CONCLUSION.

"The people of the State are to be congratulated upon the progress made during the last year in the direction of wholesome legislation.

"The most practical and thorough Civil Service Reform has gained a place in the policy of the State.

"Political assessments upon employees in the public departments have been prohibited.

"The rights of all citizens at primary elections have been protected by law.

"A bureau has been established to collect information and statistics touching the relations between labor and capital.

"The sale of forest land at the source of our important streams has been prohibited, thereby checking threatened disaster to the commerce on our water-ways.

"Debts and obligations for the payment of money, owned though not actually held within the State, have been made subject to taxation, thus preventing an unfair evasion of liability for the support of the government.

"Business principles have been introduced in the construction and care of the New Capitol and other public buildings, and waste and extravagance thereby prevented.

"A law has been passed for the better administration of the Emigration Bureau and the prevention of its abuses.

"The people have been protected by placing co-operative insurance companies under the control and supervision of the Insurance Department.

"The fees of receivers have been reduced and regulated in the interests of the creditors of insolvent companies.

"A Court of Claims has been established where the demands of citizens against the State may be properly determined.

"These legislative accomplishments, and others of less importance and prominence, may well be cited in proof of the fact that the substantial interests of the city and the State have not been neglected.

"The State of New York largely represents within her borders the development of every interest which makes a nation great. Proud of her place as leader in the community of States, she fully appreciates her intimate relations to the prosperity of the country; and justly realizing the responsibility of her position, she recognizes in her policy and her laws, as of first importance, the freedom of commerce from all unnecessary restrictions. Her citizens have assumed the burden of maintaining, at their own cost and free to commerce, the waterway which they have built and through which the products of the great West are transported to the seaboard. At the suggestion of danger she hastens to save her northern forests, and thus preserve to commerce her canals and vessel-laden rivers. The State has become responsible for a bureau of immigration, which cares for those who seek our shores from other lands, adding to the nation's population and hastening to the development of its vast domain; while at the country's gateway a quarantine, established by the State, protects the nation's health.

"Surely this great Commonwealth, committed fully to the interests of commerce and all that adds to the country's prosperity, may well inquire how her efforts and sacrifices have been answered; and she, of all the States, may urge that the interests thus by her protected should by the greater government administered for all be fostered for the benefit of the American people.

"Fifty years ago a most distinguished foreigner, who visited this country and studied its condition and prospects, wrote:

"'When I contemplate the ardor with which the Americans prosecute commerce, the advantages which aid them, and the success of their undertakings, I cannot help believing that they will one day become the first maritime power of the globe. They are bound to rule the seas as the Romans were to conquer the world. * * * The Americans now transport to their own shores nine-tenths of the European produce which they consume, and they also bring three-fourths of the exports of the New World to the European consumers. The ships of the United States fill the docks of Havre and of Liverpool; whilst the number of English and French vessels which are to be seen at New York is comparatively small.'

"We turn to the actual results reached since these words were written, with disappointment.

"In 1840 American vessels carried 82 $\frac{8}{10}$ per cent. of

all our exports and imports; in 1850, $72\frac{5}{10}$; in 1860, $66\frac{5}{10}$; in 1870, $35\frac{6}{10}$; in 1880, $17\frac{4}{10}$; in 1882, $15\frac{5}{10}$.

"The citizen of New York, looking beyond his State and all her efforts in the interest of commerce and national growth, will naturally inquire concerning the causes of this decadence of American shipping.

"While he sternly demands of his home government the exact limitation of taxation by the needs of the State, he will challenge the policy that accumulates millions of useless and unnecessary surplus in the national Treasury, which has been not less a tax because it was indirectly but surely added to the cost of the people's life.

"Let us anticipate a time when care for the people's needs as they actually arise, and the application of remedies as wrongs appear, shall lead in the conduct of national affairs; and let us undertake the business of legislation with the full determination that these principles shall guide us in the performance of our duties as guardians of the interests of the State."

The most important measures that were passed by the Legislature of 1884 were those relating to the reform of the government of New York city, and to the reform of the Civil Service.

Charges of corruption in various departments of the New York city government were made by some;

others denied the existence of corruption, but admitted that the manner of administering the city government was in many respects antiquated, and that the present system, which in great part had grown up many years ago, was no longer suited to a city of the size and commercial importance of New York.

There was accordingly an earnest and general movement, irrespective of party ties, in the direction of reform in these matters. It was very fortunate that the subject was earnestly undertaken at a time when the executive chair was filled by a man fully identified with reform, who was at the same time a sound lawyer and an experienced mayor of a large city, fresh from the details of his office. These measures consequently, so far as they seemed calculated to produce a real improvement in the government of New York city, received the hearty co-operation of Governor Cleveland. So that the Legislature, which was Republican, had nothing to complain of on that score. Indeed, it is probable that a Republican governor could not have given the Legislature such efficient support as Governor Cleveland did, because he not only encouraged by his action those of his own party who were in favor of reform, but confirmed the wavering and weakened, if not silenced, the opposition.

The first of these reform bills, the entering wedge, was the Mayor's bill:

AN ACT to centre responsibility in the municipal government of the city of New York.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. All appointments to office in the city of New York, and made by the Mayor and confirmed by the Board of Aldermen, shall hereafter be made by the Mayor without such confirmation.

§ 2. This act shall take effect January 1, 1885.

This short but far-reaching measure was only the embodiment of a recommendation or suggestion made by Governor Cleveland in his first Annual Message:

"Divided counsels and divided responsibility to the people, on the part of municipal officers, it is believed, give rise to much that is objectionable in the government of cities. If, to remedy this evil, the Chief Executive should be made answerable to the people for the proper conduct of the city's officers, it is quite clear that his power in the selection of those who manage its different departments should be greatly enlarged."

The Governor signed the bill at once, and filed with it his reasons. As this is a matter that concerns all our cities, and as the same problem is sure to arise elsewhere, I consider it important to lay this paper before the public:

"EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
ALBANY, *March* 17, 1884.

"The interest which has been aroused regarding the merits of this bill, and quite a determined hostility which has been developed on the part of those entitled to respectful consideration, appear to justify a brief reference to the principles and purposes which seem to me to be involved in the measure, and an incidental statement of the process of thought by which I have been led to approve the same.

"The opponents of the bill have invoked the inviolability of the right of the people to rule themselves, and have insisted upon the preservation of a wise distribution of power among the different branches of government; and I have listened to solemn warning against the subversive tendency of the concentration of power in municipal rule, and the destructive consequences of any encroachment upon the people's rights and prerogatives.

"I hope I have not entirely misconceived the scope and reach of this bill; but it seems to me that my determination as to whether or not it should become a law does not depend upon the reverence I entertain for such fundamental principles.

"The question is not whether certain officers heretofore elected by the people of the city of New York shall, under the provisions of a new law, be appointed. The transfer of power from an election by

the people to an appointment by other authority, has already been made.

"The present charter of the city provides that the mayor 'shall nominate, and by and with the consent of the board of aldermen appoint the heads of departments.'

"The bill under consideration provides that after the 1st day of January, 1885, 'all appointments to office in the city of New York now made by the mayor and confirmed by the board of aldermen shall be made by the mayor without such confirmation.'

"The change proposed is clearly apparent.

"By the present charter the mayor, elected by all the people of the city, if a majority of twenty-four aldermen, elected by the voters of twenty-four separate districts, concur with him, may appoint the administrative officers who shall have charge and management of the city departments.

"The bill presented for my action allows the mayor alone to appoint these officers. This authority is not conferred upon the mayor now in office, who was chosen without anticipation on the part of the people who elected him that he should exercise this power, but upon the incoming mayor who, after the passage of the act, shall be elected with the full knowledge on the part of the people, at the time they cast their votes, that they are constituting an agent to act for them in the selection of certain other city officers.

"This selection under either statute is delegated by the people. In the one case it is exercised by the chief executive acting with twenty-four officers representing as many different sections of the municipality; in the other by the chief executive alone.

"I cannot see that any principle of democratic rule is more violated in the one case than in the other. It appears to be a mere change of instrumentalities.

"It will hardly do to say that because the aldermen are elected annually, and the mayor every two years, that the former are nearer the people and more especially their representatives. The difference in their terms is not sufficient to make a distinction in their direct relations to the citizen.

"Nor are the rights of the people to self-government in theory and principle better protected when the power of appointment is vested in twenty-five men, twenty-four of whom are responsible only to their constituents in their respective districts, than when this power is put in the hands of one man elected by all the people of the municipality with particular reference to the exercise of such power. Indeed, in the present condition of affairs, if disagreement arises between the mayor and the aldermen, the selection of officers by the representative of all the people might be defeated by the adverse action of thirteen representatives of thirteen aldermanic districts. And it is perfectly apparent that these

thirteen might, and often would, represent a decided minority of the people of the municipality.

"It cannot be claimed that an arrangement which permits such a result is pre-eminently democratic.

"It has been urged that the proposed change is opposed to the principle of home rule. If it is intended to claim that the officers, the creation of which is provided for, should be elected, it has no relevancy; for that question is not in any manner presented for my determination. And it surely cannot be said that the doctrine of home rule prevents any change by the Legislature of the organic law of municipalities. The people of the city cannot themselves make such change; and if legislative aid cannot be invoked to that end, it follows that abuses, flagrant and increasing, must be continued, and existing charter provisions, the inadequacy of which for the protection and prosperity of the people is freely admitted, must be perpetuated. It is the interference of the Legislature with the administration of municipal government by agencies arbitrarily created by legislative enactment, and the assumption by the law-making power of the State of the rights to regulate such details of city government as are or should be under the supervision of local authorities that should be condemned as a violation of the doctrine of home rule.

"In any event I am convinced that I should not disapprove the bill before me on the ground that it

violates any principle which is now recognized and exemplified in the government of the city of New York.

"I am also satisfied that as between the system now prevailing and that proposed, expediency and a close regard to improved municipal administration lead to my approval of the measure.

"If the chief executive of the city is to be held responsible for its order and good government, he should not be hampered by any interference with his selection of subordinate administrative officers; nor should he be permitted to find in a divided responsibility an excuse for any neglect of the best interests of the people.

"The plea should never be heard that a bad nomination had been made because it was the only one that could secure confirmation.

"No instance has been cited in which a bad appointment has been prevented by the refusal of the board of aldermen of the city of New York to confirm a nomination.

"An absolute and undivided responsibility on the part of the appointing power accords with correct business principles, the application of which to public affairs will always, I believe, direct the way to good administration and the protection of the people's interests.

"The intelligence and watchfulness of the citizens of New York should certainly furnish a safe guar-

anty that the duties and powers devolved by this legislation upon their chosen representative will be well and wisely bestowed; and if they err or are betrayed, their remedy is close at hand.

"I can hardly realize the unprincipled boldness of the man who would accept at the hands of his neighbors this sacred trust, and standing alone in the full light of public observation, should wilfully prostitute his powers and defy the will of the people.

"To say that such a man could by such means perpetuate his wicked rule concedes either that the people are vile or that self-government is a deplorable failure.

"It is claimed that because some of these appointees become members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, which determines very largely the amount of taxation, therefore the power to select them should not be given to the mayor. If the question presented was whether officials having such important duties and functions should be elected by the people or appointed, such a consideration might well be urged in favor of their election. But they are now appointed, and they will remain appointive, whether the proposed bill should be rejected or approved. This being the situation, the importance of the duties to be performed by these officials has to do with the care to be exercised in their selection, rather than the choice between the two modes of appointment which are under consideration.

"For some time prior to the year 1872, these appointments were made by the mayor without confirmation, as is contemplated by the bill now before me. In that year a measure passed the Legislature giving the power of appointment to the common council. The chief executive of the State at that time was a careful and thorough student of municipal affairs, having large and varied experience in public life. He refused to approve the bill, on the ground that it was a departure from the principle which should be applied to the administration of the affairs of the city, and for the reason that the mayor should be permitted to appoint the subordinate administrative officers without the interference of any other authority.

"This reference to the treatment of the subject by one of my distinguished predecessors in office, affords me the opportunity to quote from his able and vigorous veto message which he sent to the Legislature on that occasion. He said:

"'Nowhere on this continent is it so essentially a condition of good government as in the city of New York, that the chief executive officer should be clothed with ample powers, have full control over subordinate administrative departments, and so be subject to an undivided responsibility to the people and to public opinion for all errors, shortcomings and wrong-doings by subordinate officers.'

"He also said:

"'Give to the city a chief executive, with full power to appoint all heads of administrative departments. Let him have power to remove his subordinates, being required to publicly assign his reason.'

"He further declared:

"'The members of the common council, in New York, will exert all the influence over appointments which is consistent with the public good, without having the legal power of appointment, *or any part of it*, vested in their hands.'

"In 1876, after four added years of reflection and observation, he said, in a public address, when suggesting a scheme of municipal government:

"'Have, therefore, no provision in your charter requiring the consent of the common council to the mayor's appointments of heads of departments; *that only opens the way for dictation by the council or for bargains.* This is not the way to get good men nor to fix the full responsibility for mal-administration upon the people's chosen prime minister.'

"These are the utterances of one who during two terms had been mayor of the city of New York and for two terms recorder of that city; and who for four years had been Governor of the State.

"No testimony, it seems to me, could be more satisfactory and convincing.

"It is objected that this bill does not go far enough, and that there should be a rearrangement of the terms of these officers; also that some of them

should be made elective. This is undoubtedly true; and I shall be glad to approve further judicious legislation supplementary to this, which shall make the change more valuable and surround it with safeguards in the interests of the citizens. But such further legislation should be well digested and conservative, and, above all, not proposed for the purpose of gaining a mere partisan advantage.

"I have not referred to the pernicious practices which the present mode of making appointments in the city of New York engenders, nor in the constantly recurring bad results for which it is responsible. They are in the plain sight of every citizen of the State.

"I believe the change made by the provisions of this bill gives opportunity for an improvement in the administration of municipal affairs; and I am satisfied that the measure violates no right of the people of the locality affected, which they now enjoy. But the best opportunities will be lost and the most perfect plan of city government will fail, unless the people recognize their responsibilities and appreciate and realize the privileges and duties of citizenship. With the most carefully devised charter, and with all the protection which legislative enactments can afford them, the people of the city of New York will not secure a wise and economical rule until those having the most at stake determine to actively interest themselves in the conduct of municipal affairs. GROVER CLEVELAND."

There were several other bills designed to further the reform of the government of New York city.

The bill entitled "An act in relation to the office of the Clerk of the City and County of New York," and the bill entitled "An act to regulate and provide for certain expenses of conducting the office of Sheriff of the City and County of New York," were promptly signed by the Governor.

The bill entitled "An act in relation to the office of Surrogate of the County of New York," and the one entitled "An act in relation to the office of the Register of the City and County of New York," passed the Legislature and reached the Governor before the Legislature adjourned.

When he examined these bills he found them so defective that he would not sign them, but sent a message to the Legislature pointing out their defects and recommending their recall and amendment. They were accordingly recalled and amended, but not fully in accordance with his suggestions, and were left in a very unsatisfactory condition.

The Governor, however, signed them, and gave his reasons for so doing.

Thus far we have five of these bills relating to the government of New York city which have been signed by the Governor.

There were two more—the Tenure of Office Bill and the Park Commission Bill—which reached the Governor during the last hours in which the Legis-

lature was in session, while about one hundred and fifty other bills were awaiting his action; and on the adjournment of the Legislature this number was increased to four hundred.

When he recommended the recall and amendment of the County Register's Bill and the Surrogate's Bill, of which I have above spoken, he said:

"In view of the near approach of the final adjournment of the Legislature, I suggest that the other bills of a like character be also recalled or carefully examined by some party familiar with the subjects they embrace, so that fatal defects shall not be discovered when it is too late for amendment."

But the Legislature failed to carefully examine the Tenure of Office Bill and the Park Commission Bill in accordance with the Governor's suggestions. When he came to examine them he found them so imperfect that he refused to sign them, and characterized them as "defective and shabby legislation."

His refusal to sign the Tenure of Office Bill excited a great deal of criticism at the time; but an examination of his reasons has satisfied most people that he was right. Mr. Francis M. Scott published a letter on the subject in the *Times* of June 18, 1884, in which occurs the following sentence:

"As the draughtsman of the original Tenure of Office act, and one of its most ardent supporters, I am constrained to agree with Governor Cleveland that in the

shape in which it reached him it was a very shabby piece of legislation, quite unfit to find a place in the statute-book."

He thus shows the fatal effect of Mr. Dayton's amendment to the original bill. The *Times* and the Independent journals, since the publication of Mr. Scott's letter, have all agreed that the Governor was justified in his action.

But an earnest effort has nevertheless been made to cause the public to believe that, in refusing to sign this bill, Governor Cleveland was influenced by unworthy motives and desired to make political capital out of it. But, as has been repeatedly pointed out in the New York journals, if his refusal to sign it favored anybody, it was his political enemies. The Governor has been so fully justified in the matter, and the insinuation that he had acted from selfish motives has been so entirely refuted, that in my opinion it is now only a question of temporary and purely local importance. Therefore I do not feel that it is necessary to give in this book the bill and the Governor's reasons for his action. Both these documents will be distributed by the National Democratic Committee. And a clear and exhaustive discussion of the subject can be found in the *Evening Post* of New York, July 30, 1884, in another letter from Mr. Scott.

Governor Cleveland refused to sign the Park Commission Bill on account of the indefinite and

careless manner in which it was drawn. In reference to these two last bills he says:

"Appreciating the litigation and the sacrifice of rights and interest which result from defective laws, I have earnestly tried, during my official term, to enforce care in their preparation. I am importuned every day to allow laws to go upon the statute book which are mischievously imperfect, but which are deemed good enough to promote the purposes of interested parties. It is not pleasant constantly to refuse such applications, but I conceive it my duty to do so.

"Though the purposes of these bills are supposed to be in the public interest, and though their failure may be a disappointment to many, I do not see that I should allow them to breed dispute and litigation touching important public offices, and to be made troublesome precedents to encourage careless and vicious legislation."

Another of the reform measures, regarded by some as the most important of all, was a bill taking the control of elections from the Police Commissioners, and putting it into the hands of a non-partisan commission. This bill was defeated in the Assembly by Republican votes, under the leadership of Mr. Dayton, whose amendment, as we have already seen, destroyed the value of the Tenure of Office Bill. If it had passed the Legislature it would

doubtless have received the approval of the Governor. The cause of reform met with no obstacle on his part. Such is the record of Governor Cleveland in regard to the reform of the government of New York city. His position was a difficult one, but his firmness and thorough sympathy with pure government carried him through with honor. And, without doubt, his record on these bills did much to build up the enviable national reputation which he now enjoys.

I now come to his record on a yet more important subject—that of

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

In October, 1882, when Mr. Cleveland was a candidate for Governor, Mr. George William Curtis, Mr. John Jay, Mr. Everett P. Wheeler, and Mr. William Potts, acting as a committee for the Civil Service Reform Association of New York, sent to Mr. Cleveland and various other candidates a set of questions regarding the Reform for which they were and are yet so faithfully and successfully laboring.

Mr. Cleveland's reply I give in full, and all friends of the cause must acknowledge that it has the right ring to it; and whatever deficiency in regard to this question they may have found in the Chicago Platform is fully compensated for in the sentiments of the candidate nominated to stand on it.

"BUFFALO, New York, *Oct.* 28, 1882.

"*Hon. Geo. William Curtis and others, Committee, etc.*

"GENTLEMEN:—In answer to your letter of inquiry, dated Oct. 20, 1882, in relation to Civil Service Reform, I beg to refer you to my recent letter accepting the nomination for Governor, in which many of the matters referred to in your letter are touched upon: and I assure you that the sentiments therein expressed are sincerely and honestly entertained, and are stated without any mental reservation.

"I have no hesitation in saying that I fully approve of the principles embodied in the Pendleton Bill relating to this subject, and that I should be glad to aid in any practical legislation which would give them a place in the management of the affairs of the State and of municipalities, so far as they can be made applicable thereto.

"I believe that the interests of the people demand that a reform in the National and State Administrative service should speedily become an accomplished fact, and that the Public should receive honest and faithful service at the hands of well-fitted and competent servants.

"When contests between parties are waged for the purpose of securing places for professional politicians of high or low degree, whose only recommendation for appointment is their supposed ability to do partisan service, the people are apt to be defrauded by the displacement of tried and faithful

servants, well able to perform the duties for which they are paid with the People's money, and the substitution of those who are unfit and incompetent. In this way the interests of the party may be subserved, but the interests of the people are neglected and betrayed.

"This pernicious system gives rise to an office-holding class who, in their partisan zeal, based upon the hope of personal advantage, arrogate to themselves an undue and mischievous interference with the will of the people in political action; this breeds the use of dishonest and reprehensible methods, which frequently results in the servants of the people dictating to their masters.

"If places in the public service are worth seeking, they should be the reward of merit and well-doing, and the opportunity to secure them on that basis should be open to all. Those holding these places should be assured that their tenure depends upon their efficiency and fidelity to their trusts, and they should not be allowed to use them for partisan purposes. The money they earn they should receive and be allowed to retain, and no part of it should be exacted from them by way of political assessments.

"It seems to me that very much or all of what we desire in the direction of Civil Service Reform is included in the doctrine that the concerns of the State and Nation should be conducted on business princi-

ples, and as nearly as possible in the same manner that a prudent citizen conducts his private affairs.

"If this principle is kept constantly in mind, I believe the details of a plan by which its adoption may be secured will, without much difficulty, be suggested.

"You refer especially to mismanagement in schools, asylums, and institutions of charity and correction, and to the difficulty in securing the construction of an additional aqueduct in the City of New York. Without being fully acquainted in detail with the evils and obstacles surrounding these subjects, I believe they may be remedied and removed by a due regard to the dictates of humanity and decency, and the application of the principles to which I have alluded.

"Yours very respectfully,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

The reader should compare this reply with the statement in his letter accepting the nomination for Governor, to which he alludes, and with the paragraph on the same subject in his first Annual Message, and with the following extract from his second Annual Message:

"During the year the provisions of the act passed by the last Legislature to regulate and improve the Civil Service of the State have been put into operation. Fortunately a commission was secured whose mem-

bers were in hearty sympathy with the principles of the law and who possessed much practical knowledge of the needs of the public service. The commission itself was also fortunate in obtaining the services of Silas W. Burt as Chief Examiner, whose experience in public affairs and familiarity with the best methods of regulating the Civil Service enabled him to render invaluable assistance to the commission and the State. The preliminary classification and the framing of rules, contemplated by the act governing the appointments to place, having been completed and received my approval, the system will become operative in respect to all State officers and in all State institutions on the fourth day of the present month. This work, owing to the diversity of the State service and the number and variety of positions affected by the law, has been a task attended with many difficulties. Although some slight revision may be necessary, on the whole I am confident the scheme will be found practical and effective, without being too rigorous or burdensome.

"In addition the commission has co-operated with the mayors of cities who, under the law, have exclusive control of the municipal service and in several cities, notably New York and Brooklyn, a thorough system of Civil Service has been prepared and promulgated, as nearly in harmony with the State system as the charters and statutes relating to municipal matters will permit.

"New York then leads in the inauguration of a comprehensive State system of civil service. The principle of selecting the subordinate employees of the State on the ground of capacity and fitness, ascertained according to fixed and impartial rules, without regard to political predilections and with reasonable assurance of retention and promotion in case of meritorious service, is now the established policy of the State. The children of our citizens are educated and trained in schools maintained at common expense, and the people as a whole have a right to demand the selection for the public service of those whose natural aptitudes have been improved by the educational facilities furnished by the State. The application to the public service of the same rule which prevails in ordinary business, of employing those whose knowledge and training best fit them for the duties at hand, without regard to other considerations, must elevate and improve the Civil Service and eradicate from it many evils from which it has long suffered. Not the least gratifying of the results which this system promises to accomplish, is relief to public men from the annoyance of importunity in the strife for appointments to subordinate places."

I am informed by the officers of the Civil Service Reform Association of New York that the Civil Service laws passed since Mr. Cleveland has been

Governor are in their present form satisfactory to the friends of the cause throughout the country.

The act creating a commission, adopting the competitive system in the State service, and making it optional for the mayors of cities with 50,000 inhabitants (the Police, Fire, Educational, and Law departments being exempted), was passed in 1883.

The Association thereupon prepared an amendatory bill making the system compulsory in all these cities, and removing the above exemptions.

All limitation by reason of population was stricken out, and in this shape the bill passed. And accordingly it now applies to all incorporated cities in the State of New York, twenty-three in number.

I am furthermore informed by these officers that they have found on all occasions Governor Cleveland a stanch friend of their movement, and that he has done all that he could to advance their cause.

He had an opportunity to delay the whole matter, if he had been an enemy of Civil Service Reform. Under the Constitution of New York it was necessary, if the Commission were to begin their work in 1883, that they should be appointed before the Legislature adjourned. If Governor Cleveland had felt disposed he could easily have delayed sending in the names of the Commissioners to the Legislature, as the bill did not reach him until just before it adjourned. Instead of delaying he was prepared to send his nominations in at once; and they were promptly con-

firmed by a Democratic Senate. Moreover he selected, as Commissioners, firm friends of the cause; and they fortunately secured Mr. Burt as Chief Examiner, upon which the Governor congratulates the State, as seen above, in his second Annual Message.

There is every reason for thinking that these laws will improve the service very much in all these cities; and so far everything is turning out so satisfactorily to the friends of the movement, that the above Association is taking steps to have other States imitate what New York has done and is doing in this matter. Massachusetts has already done so.

Governor Cleveland has furthermore proved by his appointments to office that his words about Civil Service Reform were sincere. When he came to appoint a Superintendent of Public Works there was very strong party influence brought to bear for the appointment of a prominent politician, who had taken an active part in favor of the Governor's election. This superintendent has under him a great number of men connected with the canal system, scattered through a great many counties in New York, and therefore able to exert great political influence in conventions and at elections. But Governor Cleveland, instead of selecting the politician, selected a man whose only recommendation was that he was intimately acquainted with the business of his office.

The same principles guided him in appointing a Superintendent of the Insurance Department, al-

though the politicians had selected another man; and in appointing an officer to superintend the work on the new Capitol. In both cases, without regard to political influence, he selected men because of their practical knowledge of the duties of their positions. No State has yet had a Governor who has done more to advance the cause of Civil Service Reform than New York. His acts and his words bid the friends of this movement God-speed, and seem to say: "Courage in the good work; the present is almost yours, and the future will certainly be."

I have considered only the bills that seemed to me most important intrinsically or from the discussion they have called forth; and given only some of the most important passages from Governor Cleveland's messages. But enough has been given to satisfy the public that Grover Cleveland is a man of strong, rugged common sense, who has a thorough knowledge of law and a comprehensive grasp of the problems of government. It has been extremely fortunate for the State of New York to have once more a sound lawyer for her Executive. The official careers of Mr. Tilden and Mr. Cleveland illustrate the importance of sound legal learning to the proper performance of the duties of the Executive of a great State. Governors who have not such must, to a great extent, rely on the judgment of others, especially of legal experts employed to examine the bills passed by the legis-

lature. But Governor Cleveland has examined them himself, and the final decision has depended on his own judgment. His great physical endurance and strong vital force have therefore been a blessing to the public. All accounts agree as to the great quantity of work he does; and by no means his least recommendation to business people is the fact that he is so business-like a governor.

He has likewise impressed the people by his dignity, manliness of character, and unwavering firmness. He is not a stubborn man, nor has he, as some men, an intrusive strong will and a constant desire to show it; on the contrary, his conclusions are formed with great deliberation, and his firmness and decision of character rest on convictions of duty.

Whenever he has accepted office or the nomination for office his close personal friends have frequently observed how he has been deeply impressed with feelings of grave responsibility. His letters and speeches on these occasions enable the public to observe the same thing.

We may see in his speech of July 29, on formally accepting the nomination for President, that it was to him more than a mere formal utterance—that it came from the heart and shows a deep and sacred feeling of the magnitude and difficulty of the trust which the American people devolve upon their President.

The direct, clear and forcible style of his public

papers shows that his fondness for literature has been valuable to him. This taste he has been able to gratify to a very limited extent for several years past, from pressure of business, legal and public.

This loss he regrets, but finds some compensation for it in a memory of very unusual retentiveness, stored as it is with many treasures from his former reading, which doubtless assist him in sometimes giving to his utterances a singular grace and felicity of expression.

Altogether his official life has made on the American people a deep impression of his ability, his uprightness and thorough-going independence.

CHAPTER IV.

REFORM CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

IT was altogether natural that there would arise a movement in favor of the nomination of such a man as we have in the preceding chapters seen Governor Cleveland to be—a man in the prime of life and with so strong a record.

It was likewise favorable to his nomination that the agitation in his behalf had arisen only a short time before the Democratic Convention met. It was certain that New York would use her influence for Mr. Tilden, if he did not again decline the nomination in an emphatic and definite manner. And until he did this the movement for Governor Cleveland's nomination was necessarily kept in the back-ground. But as soon as Mr. Tilden's letter was published, in June, the "boom" for Governor Cleveland began to develop in a definite and forcible manner; and there was not time left between then and the meeting of the convention for the people to grow weary of hearing his name. There are many people who believe that conventions have in a manner ceased to nominate men whose names have been

persistently pushed for months. The nomination of Mr. Blaine, however, after three earnest "booms" does not accord with this theory of the action of conventions.

Another circumstance favorable to Mr. Cleveland's nomination was that he had at his back the seventy-two votes of New York. This is no trifling factor in a National Convention.

There was, moreover, a very general feeling that some candidate must be named who could carry New York at the next election; and the fact that Governor Cleveland carried it in 1882 by 192,000 created a strong belief that he could carry it again. Those candidates who live in the most populous States have a decided advantage over those who live in small States. There is little doubt that Mr. Bayard would have been nominated either this year or in 1880, if he had lived in a populous State of the North.

There is one more circumstance that had great weight in favor of Governor Cleveland, and that was the relation of the Independents to him. Fortunately for him the Independents, immediately after the nomination of Mr. Blaine, held three very important meetings—in New York, in Boston, and in New Haven—at which they declared against Mr. Blaine and in one way and another made it pretty evident that they would support Mr. Cleveland if nominated at Chicago. These three meetings exerted

a much greater influence than was proportionate to the numbers present at them, because they were attended by an unusual number of men prominent in the higher callings of life, of men favorably known for their intelligence, culture and character, and who had heretofore been active and representative members of the Republican party.

Other Independents scattered over a wide extent of country were encouraged by these three meetings to await the action of the Democratic Convention.

All reasonable Democrats at once recognized the expediency of nominating a candidate who would draw this Independent vote, and, what was equally important, would gain their influence and assistance in the approaching campaign. From that day the probability grew stronger that either Governor Cleveland or Senator Bayard would be nominated.

The nomination of Mr. Blaine immediately rendered all differences in the Democratic party as to the tariff and some other questions secondary; it was evident that the issue was to be one of Reform against "machine" methods of government, or Reform against the spoils system, provided the Democrats would put forth a progressive, pure man as their standard bearer.

Thus various circumstances conspired, as it were, to raise the whole Democratic party to the level sometime occupied by its best men.

There is no doubt that public sentiment has been

educated up to certain important measures without the active co-operation and even with the opposition of many of the leaders of the two parties. The cause of Civil Service Reform has been opposed, ridiculed and snubbed by many of them. But that it has taken a deep hold on many of the more progressive and intelligent men in both parties, and thereby on public opinion, is clearly shown by Mr. Blaine's circuitous expressions of sympathy with the movement, as given in his Letter of Acceptance.

When a man so thoroughly identified with the spoils system as Mr. Blaine has been finds it necessary to throw such a sop to Cerberus, it is a clear indication that public opinion is ready for this Reform if pressed prudently and by the proper men.

Upon the whole the Democratic Convention could not have been held at a time better calculated to give the guidance in important matters to the progressive elements of the party, and better calculated to bring about the nomination of a good man.

The convention met in Chicago July 8, and was organized by the selection of Gov. Hubbard of Texas as Temporary Chairman and Col. Vilas of Wisconsin as Permanent Chairman.

While the convention was waiting for the Committee on Platform to finish its work, the following different candidates were put in nomination: Senator Bayard of Delaware, ex-Senator Thurman of Ohio, ex-Senator McDonald of Indiana, Hon. John

G. Carlisle of Kentucky, Governor Cleveland of New York, Governor Hoadly of Ohio, and Hon. Samuel Randall of Pennsylvania.

When the State of New York was reached Mr. Manning arose and said that his State presented the name of Grover Cleveland, and desired to be heard through Hon. D. N. Lockwood of Buffalo. Mr. Lockwood is the gentleman who nominated Mr. Cleveland for Sheriff of Erie County in 1870, for Mayor of Buffalo in 1881, and for Governor of New York in 1882. Probably no other case has occurred in our history of a man's being nominated four different times for four different offices by the same man. I gave Mr. Lockwood's Syracuse speech in the preceding chapter; the following was the speech at Chicago:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: It is with no ordinary feeling of responsibility that I appear before this Convention as the representative of the Democracy of the State of New York [applause] for the purpose of placing in nomination a gentleman from the State of New York as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. This responsibility is made greater when I remember that the richest pages of American history have been made up from the records of Democratic administration. [Applause.] This responsibility is made still greater when I remember that the only blot in the political history done at Washington, an outrage upon the rights of the American people, was in 1876, and that that

outrage and that injury to justice is still unavenged [applause], and this responsibility is not lessened when I recall the fact that the gentleman whose name I shall present to you has been my political associate from my youth. Side by side have we marched to the tune of Democratic music; side by side have we studied the principles of Jefferson and Jackson, and we love the faith in which we believe; and during all this time he has occupied a position comparatively as a private citizen, yet always true and always faithful to Democratic principle. No man has greater respect or admiration for the honored names which have been presented to the convention than myself; but, gentlemen, the world is moving, and moving rapidly. From the North to the South new men—men who have acted but little in politics—are coming to the front [applause], and to-day there are hundreds and thousands of young men in this country, men who are to cast their first vote, who are independent in politics, and they are looking to this convention, praying silently that there shall be no mistake made here. They want to drive the Republican party from power. They want to cast their vote for a Democrat in whom they believe. [Applause.] These people know from the record of the gentleman whose name I shall present that Democracy with him means honest government, pure government and protection of the rights of the people of every class and every condition.

A little more than three years ago I had the honor at the city of Buffalo to present the name of this same gentleman for the office of Mayor of that city. It was presented

then for the same reason, for the same causes, that we present it now; it was because the government of that city had become corrupt and had become debauched, and political integrity sat not in high places. The people looked for a man who would represent the contrary, and without any hesitation they named Grover Cleveland as the man.

At this point there was a wild burst of applause. Some of the New York delegation, practically the entire Wisconsin delegation and some few scattering delegates, stood up and made all the demonstrations possible in Cleveland's favor. As soon as the uproar subsided and comparative order was regained Mr. Lockwood continued:

The result of that election and his holding that office was that in less than nine months the State of New York found herself in a position to want just such a candidate and for such a purpose, and when at the Convention of 1882 his name was placed in nomination for the office of Governor of the State of New York, the same people, the same class of people, knew that that meant honest government; it meant pure government, it meant Democratic government, and it was ratified by the people. [Cheers.] And, gentlemen, now, after eighteen months' service there the Democracy of the State of New York come to you and ask you to give to the country, to give to the independent and Democratic voters of the country, to give the young men of the country the new blood of the country and present the name of Grover Cleveland as their stand-

ard-bearer for the next four years. I shall indulge in no eulogy of Mr. Cleveland. I shall not attempt any further description of his political career. It is known. His Democracy is known. His statesmanship is known throughout the length and breadth of the land, and all I ask of this convention is to let no passion, no prejudice, influence the duty which it owes to the people of this country. Be not deceived. Grover Cleveland can give the Democratic party the thirty-six electoral votes of the State of New York on election day. He can, by his purity of character, by his purity of administration, by his fearless and undaunted courage to do right, bring to you more votes than can anybody else. Gentlemen of the Convention, but one word more. Mr. Cleveland's candidacy before this convention is offered upon the ground of his honor, his integrity, his wisdom, and his Democracy. [Cheers.] Upon that ground we ask it, believing that if ratified by this convention he can be elected and take his seat at Washington as a Democratic President of the United States.

After the different nominations had been made and seconded by various speakers, which occupied the convention July 9th, and a part of the 10th, they adjourned till 8 P.M., at which time the platform would be ready. At this hour it was presented to the convention by Col. W. R. Morrison of Illinois.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognizes

that, as the nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain and will ever remain as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States, and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government.

BENEFIT OF CHANGE.

But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise, abuses grow, and the Government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed, for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country; hence a change is demanded.

REPUBLICAN SHORTCOMINGS.

The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence. In practice it is an organization for

enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the Government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party, yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt. Therefore, a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers, who had bargained for unlawful profits or high office. The Republican party, during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy—it has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed—it imposed and has continued those burdens. It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers—it has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. It professes a preference for free institutions—it organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal

troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor—it has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans—it left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions. It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff—it created and has continued them. Its own tariff commission confessed the need of more than 20 per cent. reduction—its Congress gave a reduction of less than 4 per cent. It professes the protection of American manufactures—it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials. It professes to protect all American industries —it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor—it has depleted the returns of American agriculture, an industry followed by half our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law attempting to fix the status of colored citizens—the acts of its Congress were overset by the decisions of its courts. It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform"—its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals, no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its counsels or a veto upon bad nominations. That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus

of more than $100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes, which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

DEMOCRATIC PLEDGES.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the Administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners.

TARIFF AND TAXATION.

Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the operations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But, in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the Custom House have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of

the reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice. All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government economically administered, including pensions, interest, and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from Custom House taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We, therefore, denounce the abuses of the existing tariff; and subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as the "internal revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

WHAT WE BELIEVE IN.

We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls as the conclusive proof that a Democratic Administration will preserve liberty with order.

The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty.

We favor honest civil service reform and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of Church and State, and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

PROTECTION TO LABOR.

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

PUBLIC LANDS.

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the general Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

IMPORTED PAUPER LABOR.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856 that the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred, for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

PROTECTION TO CITIZENS.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this Government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization issued by courts of competent jurisdiction must be respected by the Executive and Legislative departments of our own Government and by all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried

therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration. That policy has ever been in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do no act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as a result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

WATERWAYS.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water.

MERCHANT MARINE.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain.

Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand for the people of the United States an American policy.

Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the Stars and Stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry.

Under a quarter of a century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high paid labor, favorable climates and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men, and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in Old World monarchies—their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite their twenty years of peace—that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy.

Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretence of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand, in behalf of theDemocracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

A TRIBUTE TO SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics (acquiescence in the will of the majority), that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength.

Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him in his withdrawal from public cares not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

THE ISSUE—REFORM.

With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men, and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

By the time that the platform was read and

adopted it lacked only a few minutes of midnight. But the friends of the different candidates, after three days of suspense and anxiety, were mostly desirous of taking at least one ballot before adjourning. This first ballot is a mere form, used by the different States to compliment their "favorite sons." Nevertheless the friends of Mr. Cleveland stood at that late hour around the bulletin-boards in every city of the United States till the result was announced. After one ballot was taken the convention adjourned.

On meeting the next day, Friday, July 11, the friends of Governor Cleveland, encouraged by the result of last night, predicted his nomination on the third ballot. But before the second ballot was finished the States began to change in his favor, so that at the end of this ballot he had far more than the necessary two-thirds.

The following is the ballot by States taken by the convention late Thursday night:

States.	Cleveland	Bayard.	McDonald.	Thurman.	Randall.	Hoadly.	Carlisle.	Flower.	Tilden.	Hendricks.	Total.
Alabama	4	14	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
Arkansas	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
California	..	..	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Colorado	..	..	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Connecticut	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Delaware	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Florida	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Georgia	10	12	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	24
Illinois	28	2	11	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	44
Indiana	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
Iowa	23	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Kansas	11	5	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
Kentucky	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	..	..	..	26
Louisiana	13	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	16
Maine	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Maryland	6	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Massachusetts	5	21	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Michigan	14	1	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Minnesota	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Mississippi	1	15	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	18
Missouri	15	10	1	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	32
Nebraska	8	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Nevada	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
New Hampshire	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
New Jersey	4	3	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	18
New York	72	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	72
North Carolina	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
Ohio	21	..	..	23	..	2	..	..	..	..	46
Oregon	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Pennsylvania	5	..	..	..	55	..	..	..	..	..	60
Rhode Island	6	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
South Carolina	8	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
Tennessee	2	8	3	9	1	..	..	..	1	..	24
Texas	11	10	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Vermont	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Virginia	13	9	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
West Virginia	7	2	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	12
Wisconsin	12	1	2	2	..	..	1	4	..	..	22

Territories.	Cleveland.	Bayard.	McDonald.	Thurman.	Randall.	Hoadly.	Carlisle.	Flower.	Tilden.	Hendricks.	Total.
Washington	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Dakota	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Arizona	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Idaho	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Montana	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Wyoming	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
New Mexico	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Utah	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Dist. of Columbia	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Total	392	170	56	88	78	3	27	4	1	1	820

THE SECOND BALLOT.

States.	Candidates.						Total.
	Cleveland.	McDonald.	Bayard.	Thurman.	Hendricks.	Randall.	
Alabama	5	1	14	..	..	..	20
Arkansas	14	..	..	..	..	..	14
California	16	..	..	..	..	..	16
Colorado	6	..	..	..	..	..	6
Connecticut	12	..	..	..	..	..	12
Delaware	..	..	6	..	..	..	6
Florida	8	..	..	..	..	..	8
Georgia	22	..	2	..	..	..	24
Illinois	43	1	..	..	..	..	44
Indiana	30	..	..	..	..	..	30
Iowa	26	..	..	..	..	..	26
Kansas	17	..	1	..	..	..	18
Kentucky	4	..	21	1	..	..	26

States.	Candidates.						Total.
	Cleveland.	McDonald.	Bayard.	Thurman.	Hendricks.	Randall.	
Louisiana	15	..	..	1	..	..	16
Maine	12	..	..	..	..	..	12
Maryland	16	..	..	..	..	..	16
Massachusetts	8	..	7½	..	12½	..	28
Michigan	23	..	..	..	3	..	26
Minnesota	14	..	..	..	..	..	14
Mississippi	2	..	14	..	2	..	18
Missouri	32	..	..	..	..	..	32
Nebraska	9	..	1	..	..	..	10
Nevada	..	..	..	1	5	..	6
New Hampshire	8	..	..	..	..	..	8
New Jersey	5	..	2	..	11	..	18
New York	72	..	..	..	..	..	72
North Carolina	22	..	..	..	..	..	22
Ohio	46	..	..	..	..	..	46
Oregon	6	..	..	..	..	..	6
Pennsylvania	42	..	2	1	11	4	60
Rhode Island	7	..	1	..	..	..	8
South Carolina	10	..	8	..	..	..	18
Tennessee	24	..	..	..	..	..	24
Texas	26	..	..	..	..	..	26
Vermont	8	..	..	..	..	..	8
Virginia	23	..	..	..	1	..	24
West Virginia	10	..	2	..	..	..	12
Wisconsin	22	..	..	..	..	..	22
Territories.							
Arizona	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Dakota	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Idaho	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Montana	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
New Mexico	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Utah	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Washington	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Wyoming	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Dist. of Columbia	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Total	683	2	81½	4	45½	4	820

The nomination was in a manner foreseen, and gave great and general satisfaction.

The people of Albany were especially enthusiastic, and the night of the nomination gathered by thousands before the Governor's mansion, and he briefly addressed them as follows:

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: I cannot but be gratified with this kindly greeting. I find that I am fast reaching the point where I shall count the people of Albany not merely as fellow-citizens, but as townsmen and neighbors.

"On this occasion I am, of course, aware that you pay no compliment to a citizen, and present no personal tribute, but that you have come to demonstrate your loyalty and devotion to a cause in which you are heartily enlisted.

"The American people are about to exercise, in its highest sense, their power and right of sovereignty. They are to call in review before them their public servants and the representatives of political parties, and demand of them an account of their stewardship.

"Parties may be so long in power, and may become so arrogant and careless of the interests of the people as to grow heedless of their responsibility to their masters. But the time comes as certainly as death, when the people weigh them in the balance.

"The issues to be adjudicated by the nation's

great assize are made up and are about to be submitted.

"We believe that the people are not receiving at the hands of the party, which for nearly twenty-four years has directed the affairs of the nation, the full benefits to which they are entitled, of a pure, just and economical rule; and we believe that the ascendancy of genuine Democratic principles will insure a better government, and greater happiness and prosperity to all the people.

"To reach the sober thought of the nation, and to dislodge an enemy intrenched behind spoils and patronage, involve a struggle, which, if we underestimate, we invite defeat. I am profoundly impressed with the responsibility of the part assigned to me in this contest. My heart, I know, is in the cause, and I pledge you that no effort of mine shall be wanting to secure the victory which I believe to be within the achievement of the Democratic hosts.

"Let us, then, enter upon the campaign now fairly opened, each one appreciating well the part he has to perform, ready, with solid front, to do battle for better government, confidently, courageously, always honorably, and with a firm reliance upon the intelligence and patriotism of the American people."

Telegrams of congratulation rapidly came in from every State; no less than one thousand had arrived by midnight. Not the least amusing and agreeable

to the Governor was one from Virginia announcing "the safe arrival there of Frank Grover Cleveland J——, weight ten pounds."

Governor Cleveland received the formal notification of his nomination July 29, when he was addressed by Col. Vilas on behalf of the Committee of Notification. To this the Governor replied in the following speech, which is the best public utterance that the present campaign has so far brought forth:

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: Your formal announcement does not, of course, convey to me the first information of the result of the convention lately held by the Democracy of the nation, and yet when, as I listen to your message, I see about me representatives from all parts of the land of the great party which, claiming to be the party of the people, asks them to intrust to it the administration of their Government, and when I consider, under the influence of the stern reality which the present surroundings create, that I have been chosen to represent the plans, purposes, and the policy of the Democratic party, I am profoundly impressed by the solemnity of the occasion and by the responsibility of my position. Though I gratefully appreciate it, I do not at this moment congratulate myself upon the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me, because my mind is full of an anxious

desire to perform well the part which has been assigned to me.

"Nor do I at this moment forget that the rights and interests of more than fifty millions of my fellow-citizens are involved in our efforts to gain Democratic supremacy. This reflection presents to my mind the consideration which more than all others gives to the action of my party in convention assembled its most sober and serious aspect. The party and its representatives which ask to be intrusted at the hands of the people with the keeping of all that concerns their welfare and their safety should only ask it with the full appreciation of the sacredness of the trust and with a firm resolve to administer it faithfully and well. I am a Democrat because I believe that this truth lies at the foundation of true Democracy. I have kept the faith because I believe, if rightly and fairly administered and applied, Democratic doctrines and measures will insure the happiness, contentment and prosperity of the people. If in the contest upon which we now enter we steadfastly hold to the underlying principles of our party creed, and at all times keep in view the people's good, we shall be strong because we are true to ourselves, and because the plain and independent voters of the land will seek by their suffrages to compass their release from party tyranny where there should be submission to the popular will, and their protection from party corruption where there should be devotion to the

people's interests. These thoughts lend a consecration to our cause, and we go forth not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefits of a pure and honest administration of national affairs. No higher purpose or motive can stimulate us to supreme effort or urge us to continuous and earnest labor and effective party organization. Let us not fail in this, and we may confidently hope to reap the full reward of patriotic services well performed. I have thus called to mind some simple truths, and, trite though they are, it seems to me we do well to dwell upon them at this time. I shall soon, I hope, signify in the usual formal manner my acceptance of the nomination which has been tendered to me. In the meantime I gladly greet you all as co-workmen in a noble cause."

The reader now has before him the record of Mr. Cleveland's most important public acts, together with many of the papers pertaining thereto; and I think these will be found fully to bear out the character given him in the preceding chapters. His acts have gained for him many high tributes from Republicans as well as Democrats. A Republican journal of Buffalo said, when Mr. Cleveland was chosen Governor: "Buffalo has lost the best Mayor she ever had."

A prominent Republican of the same city, Mr.

Sherman S. Rogers, said two years ago: "He is a man of absolute integrity, that directs him to conclusions which are almost invariably just. He will make one of the best governors the State has ever had. He is honest, courageous, and firm, almost to obstinacy. He will take no action except after thorough consideration, and he will execute his decision in spite of cavil or outside pressure." This was a high compliment and contained a bold prediction, but Mr. Cleveland has proved it true to the letter.

He probably rests under fewer obligations to his own party than any other prominent man in it; as President he will therefore be able to follow out thoroughly the principles of reform in selecting his Cabinet, in making appointments to office, and in outlining his policy.

Though a genial man with a touch of humor in his nature, he takes an earnest view of life, and especially of public life. He has a practical, methodical mind, that never allowed him, when at the bar, to enter the court-house without having thoroughly prepared his case. These close business habits he has carried into public life; and they, united with great bodily vigor, enable him to accomplish a prodigious amount of work. Few men properly appreciate what a large part of the duties of the executive of a State or of the United States is of an ordinary business nature.

Furthermore, it will be no trifling advantage to the country to have a man for President who will be satisfied to be simply an executive officer within the meaning of the Constitution; one who will leave legislation to Congress and be content to execute the laws as interpreted by the Supreme Court.

We have also in him a man who has in various ways made it perfectly clear that he regards official position as one of *public trust and great responsibility;* while Mr. Blaine has made it equally clear that he has "the art of turning public trusts to very private ends."

From the careers of these two men there is to be learned a lesson valuable to all, but especially so to young men just entering active life.

The fact that Mr. Blaine, in spite of the well-grounded charges against his character for common honesty and faithfulness, has for so many years retained his popularity and finally obtained the nomination of his party for the Presidency, shows that he is a man of "magnetic" and perhaps brilliant qualities. There was nothing which could have prevented him from being President of the United States before the present campaign, if he had preserved an unblemished character. The moral of his life is patent to all.

On the other hand, I have not claimed for Mr. Cleveland the inheritance of genius or the possession of exceptionally brilliant qualities. The traits of

character and mind that made him Mayor, and later Governor, and which have brought, without any seeking on his part, the nomination for the Presidency—these traits are to a great extent within the reach of all who will assiduously pursue them. It should likewise be borne in mind that they are constantly in demand in every department of human activity.

At a time when many good and able men are complaining of our moral decadence as a nation, there is something encouraging and stimulating in seeing a man brought boldly and quickly to the front by his simple strength in the old-fashioned virtues.

It is but natural that such a man as Mr. Cleveland, who has always been a Democrat, should satisfy the best aspirations of his own party; but this is not all: his character and ability are such that he also satisfies a large element in the Republican party, and that the element most difficult to satisfy—an element, it is no exaggeration to say, truly remarkable for the intelligence and moral character of its members. They feel that Mr. Cleveland stands above the level of either party. And besides these men who will vote for Mr. Cleveland, there are hundreds of thousands who will vote for Mr. Blaine with the feeling that they will not have cause for regret if Mr. Cleveland be elected.

Several journals which oppose his election are

now occupied in trying to discredit his prominent supporters among the Independents by contrasting their present attitude with the hard things they have heretofore said of the Democrats. But in calling attention to this contrast they only pay a high tribute to Mr. Cleveland; because the more opposed these men have been to Democratic policy, the higher must be the standing of the Democrat who is able to obtain their support.

This Independent movement in behalf of a higher standard of public morality is the most striking feature of the present campaign; in this it differs from all other campaigns that we have had since the Civil War. There is something extremely novel and interesting in seeing the Democratic candidate for President of the United States receiving the support of the *Nation*, of *Harper's Weekly*, *Puck*, the New York *Times*, the New York *Herald*, the Springfield *Republican*, the Boston *Herald*, the Boston *Advertiser*, the Boston *Transcript*, and so many other representative Republican and Independent journals. For the first time since the war the Republican candidate has the ablest journals in the country against him.

And as to the Independent Republicans, it would make a list entirely too long to mention those in public life, the clergymen, the authors, the professors, the prominent business men, the prominent physicians and lawyers, who are supporting Mr. Cleveland.

The growth of the Independent movement is one of great interest and one well deserving a permanent and special history; but I can only allude to it here in outline. The movement well merits the attention of the public, because it has become so well organized that it is likely to play an important part in our politics for many years to come. It has sprung mostly from the Republican party, because that party has been so long in power. If the Democratic party should remain twenty-four successive years in power, it is highly probable that there would arise an Independent wing within that party. It has made comparatively small progress west of the Alleghanies or south of the Potomac; but still there are many men in the South and West, especially among the educated young men,—clergymen, lawyers, teachers, scholars,—who are in hearty sympathy with the cause, and who are doing good work for it in a quiet way.

It is not creditable to the Republican party that the Independents, embracing as they do so much talent in proportion to their numbers, have met with such an amount of ridicule among the ordinary politicians and party journals. But it is highly creditable to Mr. Cleveland that he has from his first entrance into public life duly recognized the importance of the movement. It seems to me that the strict party man, who is in such thorough sympathy with a set of principles that he feels that he can

always do his duty within party limits, should, nevertheless, recognize the merits of independence. That it has merits must be confessed by every one who will take an impartial survey of parties and journals. I think it is clear that the Independent journals give the political news in a less distorted fashion, have a somewhat clearer vision, and consequently take a broader view of public questions, than the partisan journals.

The politicians, who regard the Independents as a set of croakers and as grumblers by nature, are wide of the mark. Equally erroneous is the idea that these men are Independents in order to attain position or to further selfish private ends. Does any one doubt that such men as Mr. Curtis and Mr. Schurz could have office at any time, if they desired it, provided they would walk steadily within the party traces? It is high time that the politicians and partisan journals recognized that the talk of the Independents is not cant, but the sober, earnest thought of men of high standing and ability. I feel very confident that the result of this movement will be a great public benefit.

The people of the North have never been able to appreciate the bitter disappointment the South underwent in 1872 from the defeat of Mr. Greeley. The predominant feeling in the South was: We accepted one of their most bitter opponents of slavery, and they would not meet us half-way. Even thor-

oughly loyal Southern men feel that since the war they have been treated a little like strangers; how far they are correct in this I do not here inquire.

But at length, for the first time in twenty-five years, what is best in the South finds itself in thorough accord with much of what is most enlightened, most liberal and most worthy among the Republicans of the North. It will be a great gain for the whole country if the South can be brought to understand, what a few have long known, namely, that there is far less hostility to the South among the best people of the North than they think.

Even when we think that their judgment is wrong, let us at least confess that they are working for what they honestly believe to be right and for the good of the nation as a whole. And it ought to do much to remedy Southern provincialism to be able to read with satisfaction and sympathy the best journals of the North. And after these journals resume their positions within an improved and reformed Republican party, shall we of the South not hereafter receive their chastening with a little more patience and liberality, for the sake of the present era of good feeling?

Yes, the effects of this Independent work in politics will be important and good, whatever be the result of the coming election. But if Mr. Cleveland should be chosen President, there will be in Washington City on the 4th of March next such a gathering of the clans

from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, as was never seen before in our history. The "rebel yell" will at length be heard on the heights of the Capital of the United States, but only in expression of patriotism and the heart-felt joy of prodigal sons, who, after twenty-five years of political exile, realize at last their full restoration to the Union.

APPENDIX.

ADMISSION OF THE STATES INTO THE UNION, AND THEIR PRESENT ELECTORAL VOTE.

		Electoral Votes.
Original 13 States.	1. Delaware	3
	2. Pennsylvania	30
	3. New Jersey	9
	4. Georgia	12
	5. Connecticut	6
	6. Massachusetts	14
	7. Maryland	8
	8. South Carolina	9
	9. New Hampshire	4
	10. Virginia	12
	11. New York	36
	12. North Carolina	11
	13. Rhode Island	4
	14. Kentucky, 1792	13
	15. Vermont, 1791	4
	16. Tennessee, 1796	12
	17. Ohio. 1802	23
	18. Louisiana, 1812	8
	19. Indiana, 1816	15
	20. Mississippi, 1817	9
	21. Illinois, 1818	22
	22. Alabama, 1819	10
	23. Maine, 1820	6
	24. Missouri, 1821	16
	25. Arkansas, 1836	7
	26. Michigan, 1837	13
	27. Florida, 1845	4
	28. Texas, 1845	13
	29. Iowa, 1846	13
	30. Wisconsin, 1848	11
	31. California, 1850	8
	32. Minnesota, 1858	7
	33. Oregon, 1859	3
	34. Kansas, 1861	9
	35. West Virginia, 1863	6
	36. Nevada, 1864	3
	37. Nebraska, 1867	5
	38. Colorado, 1876	3
		401

SUMMARY OF POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1789–1880.

YEAR.	NO. OF STATES.	TOTAL ELECT. VOTE.	PARTY.	CANDIDATES.	STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.	ELECT. VOTE.
1789	10	73		Washington.			69
				John Adams.			34
				John Jay.			9
				R. H. Harrison.			6
				John Rutledge.			6
				John Hancock.			4
				George Clinton			3
				Scattering.			7
1792	15	135	Federalist.	Washington.			132
			"	John Adams.			77
			Republican.	George Clinton.			50
			"	Jefferson.			4
1796	16	138	Federalist.	John Adams.			71
			Republican.	Jefferson.			68
			Federalist.	Thomas Pinckney.			59
			Republican.	Aaron Burr.			30
				Samuel Adams.			15
				Ellsworth.			11
				Scattering.			22
1800	16	138	Republican.	Jefferson.			73
			"	Burr.			73
			Federalist.	John Adams.			65
			"	C. C. Pinckney.			64
1804	17	176	Republican.	Jefferson.	15		162
			Federalist.	C. C. Pinckney.	2		14

1808	17	176	Republican.	Madison.	12		122
			"	George Clinton.			6
			Federalist.	C. C. Pinckney.	5		47
1812	18	218	Republican.	Madison.	11		128
			Federalist.	DeWitt Clinton.	7		89
1816	19	221	Republican.	Monroe.	16		183
			Federalist.	Rufus King.	3		34
1820	24	235	Republican.	Monroe.	24		231
				J. Q. Adams.			1
1824	24	261	Republican.	Jackson.	10	155,872	99
			"	J. Q. Adams.	8	105,321	84
			"	Crawford.	3	44,282	41
			"	Clay.	3	46,587	37
1828	24	261	Democrat.	Jackson.	15	647,231	178
			Nat. Republican.	J. Q. Adams.	9	509,097	83
1832	24	288	Democrat.	Jackson.	15	687,502	219
			Nat. Republican.	Clay.	7	530,189	49
			Anti-Mason.	Wirt.	1	33,108	7
				Floyd.	1		11
1836	26	294	Democrat.	Van Buren.	15	761,549	170
			Whig.	Harrison.	7		73
				White.	2	736,656	26
				Webster.	1		14
				Mangum.	1		11
1840	26	294	Whig.	Harrison.	19	1,275,017	234
			Democrat.	Van Buren.	7	1,128,702	60
			Liberty.	Birney.		7,059	
1844	26	275	Democrat.	Polk.	15	1,337,243	170
			Whig.	Clay.	11	1,299,068	105
			Liberty.	Birney.		62,300	
1848	30	290	Whig.	Taylor.	15	1,360,101	163
			Democrat.	Cass.	15	1,220,544	127

YEAR.	NO. OF STATES.	TOTAL ELECT. VOTE.	PARTY.	CANDIDATES.	STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.	ELECT. VOTE.
			Free Soil.	Van Buren.		291,263	
1852	31	296	Democrat.	Pierce.	27	1,601,474	254
			Whig.	Scott.	4	1,386,578	42
			Free Democrat.	Hale.		156,149	
1856	31	296	Democrat.	Buchanan.	19	1,838,169	174
			Republican.	Fremont.	11	1,341,264	114
			American.	Fillmore.	1	874,534	8
1860	33	303	Republican.	Lincoln.	17	1,866,352	180
			Democrat.	Breckinridge.	11	845,763	72
			"	Douglas.	2	1,375,157	12
			Constitut'l Union.	Bell.	3	589,581	39
1864	36	314	Republican.	Lincoln.	22	2,216,067	212
			Democrat.	McClellan.	3	1,808,725	21
1868	37	317	Republican.	Grant.	26	3,015,071	214
			Democrat.	Seymour.	8	2,709,613	80
1872	37	366	Republican.	Grant.	31	3,597,070	286
			Democrat and Liberal Republican.	Greeley.	6	2,834,079	
			Democrat.	O'Conor.		29,408	
			Temperance.	Black.		5,608	
1876	38	369	Republican.	Hayes.	21	4,033,950	185
			Democrat.	Tilden.	17	4,284,885	184
			"Greenback."	Cooper.		81,740	
			"Prohibition."	Smith.		9,522	
1880	38	369	Republican.	Garfield.	19	4,449,053	214
			Democrat.	Hancock.	19	4,442,035	155
			"Greenback."	Weaver.		307,306	

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